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Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-088
Tuesday
9 May 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

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Bush Battles 'Disagreement' on NATO Modernization

PM0705172789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Without Lowering His Voice. The White House Persists in Its Plans to Modernize Tactical Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] Washington, 6 May—Washington newspapers with headlines like "Bush Lowers His Voice in the Missile Argument" had not had time to reach their readers before one item of headline news proved groundless.

According to a report just received from White House Spokesman M. Fitzwater, the U.S. president was telephoned by FRG Chancellor H. Kohl, who wanted to discuss the serious contradictions which have arisen within NATO over plans to modernize short-range nuclear missiles in Europe. The conversation lasted some 20 minutes, but the U.S. president, by all accounts, did not "lower his voice" at all. In other words, he simply did not accept the appeal by the majority of the bloc's member countries to begin talks with the USSR without delay on the question of reducing these arms systems. Speaking about the telephone conversation, Fitzwater declared: "We still believe that it would be a mistake to begin the talks soon."

Thus, at present the sides are sticking "to their own interests." These interests, as already reported, are very different. With the support of many NATO partners Bonn is proposing talks instead of nuclear modernization, which is given a hostile reception by the West German public and the European public as a whole. But Washington, in collusion with London, is insisting on siting improved nuclear systems as an "indispensable" means of deterring a "Soviet attack" under conditions of Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional arms.

At the same time, of course, they stubbornly refuse to hear the by no means propagandist but real clanking of the caterpillar tracks of the tanks being withdrawn by the Soviet Union from East European countries within the framework of the unilateral reduction of our troops and arms.

Until recently irritation in Washington corridors was directed just one way—"ungrateful" Bonn did not know itself what it was doing by giving in to "Soviet charm." In recent days, however, to the White House's irritation, the addressees have begun to multiply. Prominent U.S. specialists on military-political issues—above all, Reagan's former adviser P. Nitze—have begun actively criticizing in a well-reasoned manner Washington's stance of obstructing new steps to lessen the danger of war in Europe. Nitze has bluntly called the White House's approach pointless and shortsighted. And the wave of disagreement with the Bush administration's line has been rising higher and higher within the U.S. Congress. The administration, in the opinion of the influential legislators S. Nunn and L. Aspin, is showing neither inventiveness, nor political boldness, nor flexibility.

...It is said that the chief concern of the White House now is to avoid public discord at the NATO jubilee session due at the end of May. Some heads have suggested that "the best way" will be to step up anti-Soviet attacks. The administration has not been slow to profit from that dubious advice. In particular, at the last news conference Fitzwater went so far as to accuse the Soviet leadership of "trying to split the West." The world, he declared, must show great caution!

This is the stance... It is hard to say what it has more of—pretence or malicious slander. Or perhaps it is a recognition of their own inability to resolve the most urgent task of giving people a chance to lead a quiet, human life?

U.S. Reluctant To Drop 'Militarist' Course

PM0705180189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Viewpoint": "If From Positions of Realism..."]

[Text] Writing recently in the San Francisco EXAMINER, the well-known U.S. Sovietologist G. Breslauer, director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at the University of California, pointed out: The Soviet Union's new political thinking is opening up excellent prospects for joint efforts by powers to resolve very complex international problems. This thinking, the professor states, is founded on "a sincere reappraisal of old doctrines," the desire "for greater flexibility in the USSR's positions at talks," "more profound understanding of the national security interests of rivals," and "a reduction in the military competition factor in bilateral relations."

As though continuing this idea, the U.S. writer and public figure Suzanne Massie said in her speech at a recent Washington symposium on the subject "Shaping the Future: Gorbachev's Reforms and the West's Response" that they must not miss a historic opportunity to resolve many urgent problems—above all, to reverse the arms race, but also to protect the environment—because this accords with the vital interests of both countries' peoples.

Such statements are characteristic of the new mood among broad sections of the public both in the United States and in West Europe.

The impossibility of nuclear war is now obvious, probably, to everyone. And the realization that any war is ruled out altogether in Europe is strengthening in West European NATO countries. Hence the growing movement against the plans of Washington and London to impose on West Europeans modernized U.S. tactical nuclear weapons, which are hardly inferior to intermediate-range missile means, as a replacement for the missiles being eliminated in accordance with the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles.

There are politicians at 16 Pennsylvania Avenue and 10 Downing Street who continue to try to prove that nuclear weapons are a "deterrent" to the threat that supposedly stems from the Warsaw Pact countries' "superiority" in conventional types of arms. And yet talks are already being conducted between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on nuclear, chemical, and conventional types of arms. And, as the implementation of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles attests, such talks are very promising. It is reasonable to ask: Why then is there a need to avoid talks on tactical nuclear weapons?

Nevertheless, adherents of the militarist course are not backing down. R. Gates, a high-ranking representative of the White House apparatus, who moved there from the CIA, for example, recently wrote a wordy article in THE WASHINGTON POST in which, while admitting that "profound changes, which inspire optimism," are taking place in the USSR, at the same time he entreated: "The whole of Russian and Soviet history indicates that we should be skeptical and cautious," and so "we must not make concessions guided by public enthusiasm in the West or by Soviet figures' attractive personal features."

Meanwhile "public enthusiasm" is growing in the United States too. The Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies states in a report it has just published: "The full support among Americans for the Pentagon's constantly increasing demands, which was apparent during the Reagan administration's time in power, is vanishing into the past."

THE NEW YORK TIMES recently gave one of its editorials the characteristic heading "Boldness, If Only In Moscow." But why only in Moscow? Did it befit Washington to temporize for so long? Everything indicates that profound qualitative changes have occurred and are continuing to occur in the world's political atmosphere, opening up a very real opportunity to move the pointer for Soviet-U.S. relations to the path of mutual understanding and cooperation. It is the imperative demand of the times not to miss this opportunity.

General Views 'Brilliant Pebbles' Plan

PM0805090589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Major General V. Belous: "Fetters for the Planet. Military Specialist's Commentary Concerning the New SDI Concept Promulgated in the United States"]

[Text] U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, one of "star wars'" most consistent supporters, has officially announced that the "Brilliant Pebbles" concept is to be the basis for the SDI program's practical implementation. The "Brilliant Pebbles" plan envisages placing tens of thousands of missile interceptors in low-earth orbits. They are to enmesh the entire earth in a dense web in the hope that sufficient numbers of them will be able to keep Soviet territory constantly in their sights. On a command from the warning system's infrared telescopes placed in geostationary orbits or from ground control, thousands of interceptors will hurtle down on Soviet retaliatory missiles.

"Brilliant pebbles" are to serve as the basis for deploying in the mid-1990's the first stage of a large-scale antiballistic missile [ABM] system, which will enable the military-industrial complex to cross the space threshold, to become involved in the "star" business, and to make the process of militarizing space irreversible.

In military experts' opinion, this decision was a consequence of persistent assurances by Edward Teller, "father" of the hydrogen bomb, and Lowell Wood, one of the leaders of the Livermore radiation laboratory (California), concerning the development [razrabotka] of an effective new ABM weapon. SDI advocates claim that the level of recent achievements in the military technology sphere enables the creation [sozdat] of reliable small autonomous space-based interceptors designed to eliminate enemy missiles during the boost phase. In the construction of the interceptor it is proposed to utilize a supercomputer on a chip weighing only about 100 grams but possessing great speed and processing power. A miniature infrared sensor with a cooling system will be used to home in on the missile exhaust. The interceptor will have small thrusters and a fuel supply in order to maneuver in the flight's final phase. It is proposed to keep the entire system in working order via power from solar panels. According to U.S. specialist estimates, the weight of the interceptor itself will not exceed 2.5 kg, or 50 kg together with the launcher.

Remembering that many SDI critics drew attention to its extremely high cost, Teller and Wood tried to make their plans seem financially attractive. According to their preliminary estimate, the cost of one such interceptor will be about $100,000. Between 10,000 and 100,000 of these "brilliant pebbles" will be required to reliably eliminate all the probable enemy's intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. It is thought that the creation [sozdaniye] of an ABM system employing space-based interceptors will cost the United States "only" $20-25 billion.

At the same time the United States by no means intends to discontinue research in the sphere of creating [sozdaniye] other means of destruction: particle-beam and microwave weapons, electromagnetic guns, and ground-based missile interceptors. Underground tests of nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers are continuing at the Nevada range. In the interests of SDI extensive fundamental research is being conducted to obtain and make military use of antimatter, various energy fields, and antigravity and to create [sozdaniye] miniature nuclear charges based on transuranic isotopes with an extremely low critical mass.

As is well known, an indispensable condition in developing [razrabotka] new combat systems is their testing in conditions close to reality. In this connection military experts note that 1989 may be a crucial stage which will threaten to "erode" the 1972 Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems.

Shortly before leaving the post of director of the SDI Organization, Lieutenant General Abrahamson, speaking at the National Press Club, declared that no less than 12 major experiments on the program are planned for 1989.

The first launch of a missile with a warhead that homes in on a moving target, a flight test of a huge infrared sensor weighing 5.5 tonnes, and the first experiment in space involving a beam of accelerated neutrons were mentioned among them.

The latest reports from Washington indicate that the United States has switched from words to deeds. A few days ago the first tests of the "Brilliant Pebbles" interceptor were carried out at an Air Force laboratory at the Edwards Air Force Base (California). Although the experiment was limited, it clearly indicated that the SDI ideologues are fully resolved to descend from the clouds of science fiction to real technical progress. During the test the operation of the thrusters and the attitude control system was checked.

All this clearly testifies that the United States has not given up its intention to "beat" the Soviet Union, overtake it on a sharp curve in the arms race in space, and regain its lost superiority in military force.

In the United States there are many influential political and military figures who are calling for renunciation of the ABM Treaty, which ties their hands and complicates the full implementation of the SDI program. Despite the fact that the United States signed this unlimited-duration agreement and it meets the vital interests not only of the Soviet but also of the U.S. people and the entire planet's peoples, the egoism of certain circles regarding it is like the frank admission of an unscrupulous wheeler-dealer: "Anything I do is either illegal, immoral, or... fattening." Even Richard Cheney, appointed U.S. defense secretary only quite recently, has already managed to state that if the deployment of SDI is incompatible with the ABM Treaty, then the treaty must simply be scrapped.

Aiming to reinforce the treaty's conditions, the Soviet Union proposed limiting the research being carried out on the SDI program to the laboratory and agreeing on specific limits for permitted and prohibited work to create [sozdaniye] ABM combat systems.

Ignoring these proposals, the U.S. side drew up vast, far-reaching plans to carry out experiments in space. These tests, in addition to resolving purely technical problems, according to their authors' plans, must ensure the "technological deterrence" of the Soviet Union, put more pressure on it, and strengthen the U.S. position at the talks. Also, it is scarcely possible to ignore the intention of the country's most right-wing circles, if the tests of SDI combat system prototypes are successful, to push the administration, which is standing at the crossroads, toward more vigorous support for the "star wars" program. Its supporters are in no way satisfied with the pace of the program. They believe that the time has come to switch to more vigorous actions to support it.

But the experience of more than 40 years of dealing with the USSR "from a position of strength" have convincingly shown the complete futility and danger of such hopes. This has become particularly evident in recent years, when the restructuring which has developed in our country has been accompanied by the emergence in the international arena of the new political thinking, which is gathering strength. Now it is not sufficient to acknowledge the suicidal pointlessness of nuclear war and the futility and danger of a policy which has "replaced the pen with the sword." Real actions to further improve the entire system of international relations and to create a genuine system of collective security are needed.

FRG's Genscher Favors Continued Disarmament Process

LD0705142389 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 7 TASS—West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has spoken out in favour of including all types of armaments, both conventional and nuclear ones, in the disarmament process.

Speaking in Stuttgart on Sunday, he pointed out that this provision should be included in the overall NATO concept on disarmament and arms control providing for the enhancing of security both of Eastern and Western countries. The concept is to be adopted by the anniversary session of the NATO Council due to be held in Brussels late in May.

In the opinion of Genscher, the attaining of NATO's unity on the problem of crucial importance—the working out of a single NATO strategy with regard to socialist countries—will be one of priority tasks facing this summit session.

The improvement of East-West relations through the deepening of economic and technological cooperation, cultural exchanges and cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection will promote the creation in Europe of the conditions that would rule out a possibility of the return to confrontation and the heightening of tension. Genscher stressed that these problems cannot be resolved without close cooperation between Western Europe and the United States.

Grinevskiy Views Agenda for Vienna Resumption

PM0805090989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch: "Second Round"]

[Text] Vienna—Diplomats are once again in charge of Vienna's Hofburg Palace. They returned here 5 May after a break of almost 6 weeks to continue the talks on confidence- and security-building measures and on conventional armed forces in Europe.

The participants in the talks used the diplomatic time-out to consult with their governments. To judge from statements by the delegation heads, they intend to lose no time and to embark on a specific, businesslike examination of problems of disarmament and security.

As is known, the sides submitted their concepts for examination at the very first stage. How does the Soviet delegation view the next stage of the Vienna dialogue? I asked O.A. Grinevskiy, ambassador for special assignments and leader of our delegation, to speak about this.

"We are confident that real opportunities exist right now to widen the spheres of agreement and narrow the sphere where our positions do not coincide," Grinevskiy said. "It is from this viewpoint that we have prepared our position on the present round of talks, taking account of all the constructive ideas contained in the NATO proposals.

"On the credit side of the talks today there is the understanding that means of surprise attack must be the first subject for reduction. This is a good basis for practical work. But when we start talking of precisely which arms are meant, it turns out that our partners exclude tactical aircraft from the lest of such means, even though tactical aircraft strikes have begun all modern wars. Reductions and the elimination of imbalances must affect simultaneously the number of troops, tactical strike aircraft, combat helicopters, tank artillery, and armored combat vehicles.

"Both NATO and the Warsaw Pact agree that in the reduction process it is necessary to reach equal collective ceilings for conventional armed forces which will be below the present ones. Starting from this understanding, it is important now to define these ceilings in specific figures.

"In our view, the special feature of the upcoming phase of the talks is the switch to a specific examination of issues such as categories of conventional armed forces and arms, their definition, and the rules for counting them. In parallel with this we have to consider and agree on the numerical value of levels of reduction both in Europe as a whole and in individual regions. It is also necessary to begin the concrete examination of questions of verification and exchange of information. The Soviet delegation and the other socialist countries' delegations are ready for such work. We have proposed setting up corresponding groups to examine all these issues."

Zagladin Discusses Disarmament With GDR CSU Group

AU2604101289 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Apr 89 p 5

["Cas." report: "Waigel: USSR Again Interested in Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn—On the occasion of the visit of Vadim Zagladin, CPSU Central Committee expert for international relations, the Bonn Land group of the Christian Social Union [CSU] dealt extensively with the development of the USSR in the spirit of perestroyka and glasnost in its session. The deputies asked Zagladin questions until 2300 on Monday [24 April]. At the beginning of the session, CSU Chairman Theo Waigel recalled his visit to Moscow 3 and ½ years ago, which he made together with Union Bundestag Group Chairman Alfred Dregger (Christian Democratic Union) and Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the Bundestag Group of the Free Democratic Party. Waigel said that at that time he got the impression that the Soviet Union believes it is possible to circumvent Bonn. Now it has obviously changed its opinion fundamentally and is indeed interested in good relations. After all, Germany is the one state located at the border between East and West. Participants in the session reported that Zagladin's reaction to these frank words was that even though the Central Committee expert does "not explicitly agree" with Waigel, he does not contradict him, either.

In the session Zagladin tried to convince the CSU deputies that Gorbachev's course is now irreversible. He again extensively explained the reasons for restructuring. Regarding disarmament, the Central Committee expert said that in a nuclear war there would be neither a winner nor a loser. In this case, all of mankind would be faced with the question of existence or nonexistence, and there would be no survivors—neither socialism nor socialists.

Asked by Eduard Lintner, deputy and expert for inner-German issues, about the division of Germany, he noted that this division is the result of the war and the cold war and cannot be changed "now." However, the whole world is changing, and if arms control also gives rise to more mutual trust, one has to wait and see how the historical process affects the question of whether a reunited Germany is possible. Zagladin said that this question can be solved only within an all-European framework. The all-European home, which Gorbachev has mentioned, requires patience. Zagladin expressed a similar view in response to a contribution by defense expert Ortwin Lowack, who asked how long the younger generation must pay for what happened in the past. The question by Development Aid Minister Juergen Warnke on how Moscow would react if one country wanted to leave the Warsaw Pact, was answered by Zagladin with the statement that the answer would be the same as if a member country wanted to leave NATO.

CSU Chairman Waigel and several other deputies, including Alfred Biele, chairman of the Defense Committee, broached Soviet superiority in conventional armaments and stressed the necessity for asymmetric disarmament. In his answer, Zagladin reportedly referred to the West's many sea-based weapons and tried to use this superiority as a counterbalance to its weapons and technologies. Zagladin said that in those fields where there is superiority, Gorbachev has already agreed to eliminate it, as is shown by the withdrawal of troops from the CSSR, Poland, and Hungary.

In addition, the Central Committee expert said at the session that the USSR does not intend to modernize its short-range nuclear missiles. In response, Waigel said that the Soviet Union did long ago what is now being discussed in difficult debates in the West. Michaela Geiger asked whether Gorbachev will bring new disarmament initiatives when he pays his forthcoming visit to Bonn. Zagladin left the answer open. Asked about ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union, the Central Committee member said that the problem has been recognized and a solution is now in the works; concerning the demand for freedom of religion, he said that there is "movement." Religion now sees the state differently, but also its position and its task within the state.

The CSU deputies noted that the Central Committee expert spoke German during the entire session as a "gesture." This is "not a matter of course," it was said afterward. Zagladin stated that he wants to visit the grave of the late CSU Chairman Franz Josef Strauss and lay a wreath there. At the session of the CSU Land group, Zagladin paid tribute to Strauss as a great thinker and a great man of German history.

USSR, GDR To Hold Military Exercise 15-21 May

LD0805175489 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] Moscow May TASS—In accordance with an agreement reached with the GDR Government, a joint military exercise of the Group of Soviet Troops in the GDR and the GDR National People's Army will be held on the territory of the German Democratic Republic in the area of Gardelegen, Magdeburg, Brandenburg, Neustelitz and Pritzwalk from May 15 to May 21. The purpose of the military exercise is to train troop control and coordination, as well as to upgrade the field training of troops.

Units of the ground forces and the air force will take part in the military exercise. A total strength of the troops participating in it will be 20,600.

In conformity with documents of the Stockholm Conference, the GDR Government invited observers from all the countries—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—to attend the military exercise.

'Roundtable' on Japan Ties, U.S., NATO Policy

LD0705200189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 7 May 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Vadim Kassis, editor in chief of GOLOS RODINY and OTCIZNA; Yuriy Kornilov, TASS political observer; and moderater Nikolay Agayants, not further indentified]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, esteemed comrade radio listeners! Judging by the reactions that have come into our editorial offices, the overseas mass information media are singling out the visit that has taken place to our country by Sosuke Uno, Japan's foreign affairs minister, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with him in the Kremlin on 5 May.

[Kornilov] The leading news agencies, UPI and AFP, REUTER and ASSOCIATED PRESS, DPA and KYODO TSUSHIN, of course, the Japanese agency—all of them stress the importance of the Soviet-Japanese talks and the precise nature and clarity of our country's position as set out by the Soviet leader.

[Kassis] They pick out Mikhail Sergeyevich's words about the complex nature of the existing situation in relations between the Soviet Union and Japan. On the one hand dialogue is building up at all levels: The joint working group on the preparation of a peace treaty is functioning vigorously; and relations of mutual understanding and trust have formed between the foreign affairs ministers of our countries, which is of course of no mean importance in the present times. There are also indicators that are not bad in economic ties, too, although they could indeed be better. Cultural exchanges are being given increasingly richer and more varied content.

[Agayants] Yes, all that is so, Vadim Borisovich, but on the other hand—and this was stressed frankly by Comrade Gorbachev during his meeting with Uno—on the other hand it is perfectly obvious that the dynamics of Soviet-Japanese relations are clearly falling behind what has been taking place particularly in recent years in relations between the USSR and other major states of the West.

[Kornilov] As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted, the situation is evidently not ripe for this. And he stressed that this is a matter for both sides, to bring our cooperation up to a level that is worthy of two such neighboring states. The strongest logic in the political process—as it is in everything—is the logic of life. We will be patient.

[Kassis] I think one ought to recall the fact that the Japanese foreign affairs minister conveyed an oral message from Takeshita, prime minister of the Land of the Rising Sun, expressing a desire for an improvement in relations. Furthermore, Uno announced that the upcoming resignation of the Japanese Government will not introduce any changes in the policy of improving relations between our countries.

[Agayants] A substantial addition, the more so as both the Soviet Union and Japan have an interest in this process. That is the reality. And in Tokyo there are some people who slould finally rid themselves of existing feelings and conclusions which allege that we have a greater need for good relations between our two countries than do the Japanese. And another very important aspect which was set out in an utterly direct and principled way during the Kremlin conversation—I have in mind the circumstance when Mikhail Sergeyevich expressed legitimate surprise in reply to Sosuke Uno's arguments about the so-called Northern Territories, the issue of which allegedly remains a braking factor. Why is it that claims by Japan against China and South Korea, claims that are similar in character, do not prevent the full development of its relations with them? Isn't there a double standard here? We are in favor of respecting the position of every state in the system of postwar international relations, of not taking a one-sided approach to the sovereign interests of states and the views of a people that have formed on particular aspects of its relations with other peoples.

[Kornikov] In bilateral relations in general it is extremely important to have a balance of interests that is observed by both sides. It is essential to avoid raising any issue in the form of an ultimatum. That is our position which stems from the principles of the new political thinking.

[Agayants] Without a doubt, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, and we sincerely want cooperation to grow and widen in relations between the USSR and Japan, we want the atmosphere in contacts between the two peoples to improve and to become filled with good content, we want the adjusted talks mechanism which already exists to ensure continuation of the dialogue and, as Comrade Gorbachev put it figuratively, we want the shoot of trust and cooperation that has been propagated to be transformed into a tree of friendly relations.

[Kassis] Yes, we are realists and certainly do not close our eyes to the fact that the Soviet Union and Japan do have different points of view on several problems and on certain historical realities. Furthermore, the mutual recognition of these and respect for them also make it possible to view from sensible positions the subjects of divergences in views, and to get a clearer idea of the substance of the views held. And this, naturally, makes it easier to seek ways of mutual understanding, which was also confirmed by the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev with Sosuke Uno.

[Agayants] I fully agree with you, Vadim Borisovich. I will only add the fact that the USSR and Japan are among the states that carry very considerable weight in the international community and as long as that is the case what is expected of our countries in the world is great. At the Soviet-Japanese talks in Moscow it was stressed by our side that the Soviet Union and Japan could by joint efforts significantly further the solution of today's most acute topical problems, be they problems of disarmament or ecology, the external indebtedness of the developing countries, or still incurable diseases. We are deeply convinced that constructive Soviet-Japanese cooperation could help to untie existing knots of contradiction and help a political settlement of regional conflicts with due regard to the legitimate interests of the parties that have been drawn into them.

[Kornilov] I agree with your point of view, Nikolay Ivanovich, and share it in full. Nevertheless I would like to protect our listeners against the impression that now, following Japanese foreign minister's visit to the Soviet Union, the peace and tranquility and heavenly blessings will descend upon Soviet-Japanese relations. Alas! Far too many difficult unresolved issues remain. These include the issue of the situation in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region, as was pointed out by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The Soviet leader, as you know, asked Uno for elucidation on two aspects. First, in conditions when the Soviet Union is implementing its principled peace-loving policy in the disarmament sphere and is reducing the level of its military potential in the eastern part of the country, how should one interpret the fact that Japan, along with the United States, is continuing to increase both its military potential and its military activity in the region?

[Agayants] The second question, may I point out, was also put directly and bluntly: How is one, all the same, to explain the very chilly reception accorded by both Tokyo and Washington to our good intentions, which have found reflection in the well-known Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives?

[Kassis] Well, these, Nikolay Ivanovich, were in fact an invitation to all the states of this huge and promising region of the world jointly to seek solutions to urgent issues common to us all, to seek solutions, taking account of everyone's interests, without discrimination, and without bypassing anyone, least of all, of course, Japan and the United States.

[Agayants] Yes, the initiatives were indeed so precise and constructive that they left no room for speculation and suspicion, but the Japanese foreign minister gave no straight answers to the questions Mikhail Sergeyevich posed. Uno spoke only of the fact that Japan is using its mighty economic potential to peacefully develop the countries of the Asian-Pacific Ocean region, including Southeast Asia. He gave assurances, and repeated assurances at that, that his country has no intention of becoming a militarist state. Well, God grant that is so, as the saying goes.

[Kornilov] In the Austrian capital on 5 May the talks among 23 Warsaw pact and NATO states on so-called conventional armaments in Europe resumed. One can judge how important and topical this problem is by the following figures: more than 11 million servicemen, around 25,000 aircraft, and more than 120,000 tanks belonging both to the NATO and Warsaw Pact states are concentrated in Europe today. The question that poses itself is whether it really is possible and admissible to put up with such a high level of military confrontation in our densely populated continent. The fact is that the mountains of weapons piled up on European soil are a direct threat to stability and peace and are a source of mutual fear, apprehension, and mistrust.

It is perfectly natural that the talks in Vienna are attracting close attention both from the public and the press. Let me remind you that one of the central issues is the formulation of modes of approach to reducing armed forces and armaments not only on a Europe-wide scale from the Atlantic to the Urals, but also for individual regions, something that would primarily enable the very possibility of concentrating military might along any specific axis, thus creating a destabilizing superiority of forces, to be eliminated.

[Kassis] Let us recall that quite recently, when the talks were launched, many press organs justly noted that the sides had certain points of contiguity and that the dialogue had begun in a serious and businesslike atmosphere. It was noted in this connection that both the Warsaw Pact and NATO were giving precedence to priority reductions of categories of armaments that constituted a potential for sudden attack and were designated for the conduct of widespread offensive operations.

[Kornilov] This was so, and it gave grounds for optimism. And yet, if you leaf through the same newspapers today, it is not difficult to see that the number of optimistic notes in their commentaries has perhaps decreased. Today, in its comments on the start of the second round of talks, the press sometimes writes not so much about points of continuity, but more about where the approaches fail to coincide.

[Agayants] And what, at the present stage, is the gist, the core of the differences? After all, there has indeed been no dearth of assurances from both sides in the past week that they are striving to reduce arms in Europe.

[Kornilov] The heart of the matter, Nikolay Ivanovich, does not of course lie in assurances, of which there really is no scarcity. The core of the issue is that while the Warsaw Treaty countries, proceeding on the premise that approximate equality and parity of forces exists in Europe, are urging the elimination of all existing imbalances, the approach of the West is different. It is striving to reduce some categories of arms, but to leave others intact. To be specific, it has to be noted that the West wants a reduction in three categories of arms—tanks, artillery and armored vehicles—of which the Warsaw Treaty has more than NATO, but proposes that the types of arms in which NATO has a superiority should not be touched, so to speak—tactical aircraft, combat helicopters, and naval aircraft. The main argument is that strike aircraft and helicopters are allegedly not means of sudden attack and that they supposedly cannot be used for offensive operations.

[Kassis] But all this is unconvincing and that is perhaps the mildest thing you can say on the subject. You do not need to be a military expert to understand that the situation is actually the reverse. NATO's offensive military-strategic concepts—and this has been repeated on more than one occasion in NATO's own statements and in the Western press—envisage coordinated strikes against a potential enemy, with the involvement of both ground troops and the air force, and, in martitime sectors, the navy.

[Kornilov] The thing is that for example NATO has 2.4 times more fighter aircraft in its naval air force than the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It has 5 times as many large submarines, 7.5 times as many aircraft carriers, and so on. The stubborn refusal of NATO to eliminate all the existing imbalances is, in essence, a tactic directed not at maintaining parity through reducing the level of arms to a level of reasonable sufficiency for defense, but is in essence an attempt to outwit its counterpart, to implement reductions, if I may describe them like that, which would give a patent advantage to the West and would ensure its military superiority. This policy is, of course, hopeless. However, attempts to pursue this policy may seriously complicate the talks and create artificial obstacles on the way forward.

[Agayants] However, I would not assess the prospects for the Vienna talks, on the success of which the speed in building a common European home greatly depends, on a pessimistic note. Indeed, there are not enough grounds for this, today at least. A business-like dialogue, a discussion, is in progress. Let us not forget that at the last session of the first round, the representatives of NATO let it be understood that they were ready to make a reduction in aircraft a subject for discussion.

[Kornilov] True, Nikolay Ivanovich, and this, as the press has already noted, is a step in the right direction, although it is not sufficient. It is also true that today there are no grounds to be pessimistic about the Vienna dialogue, on the whole. We are talking about something else, about the presence in the NATO bloc itself, of different political directions and tendencies. If you like, it is a matter of a struggle between tendencies towards realism and the old, decrepit, militaristic postulates. This shows itself particularly clearly in the approach to topical problems, on which, incidentally the progress of the Vienna talks themselves also depend, as the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. After all, it is well-known that certain circles in Washington and London are striving at all costs to maintian tactical nuclear weapons on the continent, and even to modernize them, above all the Lance missiles. And they are not even stopping at confrontation with their own allies in NATO—the FRG, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, and now Italy too. The unconstructive, unrealistic approaches of certain Western circles, above all of those circles which reflect the interests and the aspirations of the powerful military industrial complex, are manifesting themselves at the Vienna talks too. This is what we are talking about.

[Agayants] In this connection, I think this question arises: Is not the fact that Washington has for a very long time already, for more than 100 days, been continuing to study and define more precisely the fundamental concepts of U.S. foreign policy, by which the White House was governed in the Reagan era, explained by just such a struggle between various tendencies and various political circles and forces in the West, including in the United States?

[Kornilov] What can I say about that? THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper, in its 30 April edition, published an interesting article in my opinion, by Hoffman, under the headline: "Bush's Credo is Pragmatism." This article, summarizing the first 100 days of the Washington administration's activity and analyzing in this connection the President's style of working, stresses his qualities of such as his exceptional circumspection, his inclination toward waiting tactics and his efforts to formulate decisions which would satisfy all participants in the discussion.

[Kassis] It goes without saying that an all-round study of a problem, on which a decision is to be taken, is necessary. There is also no disputing the fact that care and circumspection can be counted as a plus for any politician who possesses these qualities. But, as the saying goes, everything is good in moderation, and let's put it like this: That carefulness begins to lose its positive content as soon as it starts to put an artificial brake on positive processes that have already begun, and begins to lead to a loss of the necessary dynamism.

[Kornilov] Meanwhile, if we scrutinize the descriptions that some U.S. politicians and public figures and mass media organs give of the administration's foreign political activity, then it is not difficult to see that these descriptions sometimes contain not only praise, but also reproof. The Bush administration, stated Jackson, the prominent U.S. public figure, for example, is making a mistake in postponing steps, which would assist in developing relations with the USSR. Washington, he continues, for the time being, is only observing the actions of the Soviet leadership, but cannot compare with its boldness. And this is happening in a period, when before us there is a favorable possibility, as Jackson notes, of achieving a reduction of nuclear armaments and of starting to carry out joint economic projects.

Indeed, the former president himself is reported to be speaking in the same vein. I have in front of me a very recent edition of THE WASHINGTON POST, of 6 May, the Saturday edition. An article by Cannon is published there under the headline "Reagan Concerned at Bush's Indecision". Former President Reagan, the author writes, privately expresses anxiety about the indecisiveness of his successor, George Bush, in foreign political matters. According to what Reagan's friends say, the article states, he is feeling more and more anxious about what he evaluates as an excessively cautious approach to talks with the Soviet Union on the reduction of nuclear arms. Reagan thinks that Bush's indecisiveness has given the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, the possibility of seizing the political initiative in the fight for Western public opinion and has led to an undesirable crisis in NATO because of the question of what will happen to tactical nuclear weapons in the FRG. End of quote.

[Agayants] As regards the period of reexamination and study of the basic foreign policy concepts, however, this period, which has really gone on for an immoderately long time in Washington, seems to be drawing to an end. All the more so because that in a few days' time, or more precisely on 10 May, Baker, the new U.S. secretary of state, begins his first official visit to the Soviet Union. This signifies the resumption of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on the whole complex of of probelms, and first and foremost, of course, on problems of security and disarmament. Taking into account the experience of interaction between the two states which has already been accumulated, we hope this dialogue, which one must expect will be neither easy nor simple, will nevertheless enable our countries to successfully continue what has already been begun, and to make fresh advances on the way to curbing the arms race and reinforcing confidence. We hope it will be possible to achieve these same goals at the negotiations in Vienna.

[Kassis] Well, let us now move again to another region of our planet. The events around Afghanistan are continuing to remain at the focus of the world press, radio, and television. This is not by chance. Day and night the opposition is straining to get through to vitally important centers of the country. It is suffering losses but has not given up its senseless plans to devastate and seize those centers. People are dying. The green zones are turning into deserts which stink of putrefying corpses. Hundreds of Pakistani soldiers, in disguise, are taking part in these battles, as everyone is now aware.

[Agayants] I think we should remind our listeners, Vadim Borisovich, that until 15 February—that is, until the day the last subunit of the limited contingent of Soviet troops left the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan—the irreconcilable opposition came out with two main slogans against the central government in Kabul: "Islam is in danger," and "Stop the Soviet troops' occupation of Afghanistan." The popular masses do not accept the first slogan about the so-called defense of Islam and have never done so. It is as clear as clear can be. The mujahidin are destroying the mosques, while the govenment is restoring them.

[Kornilov] Well, as for the second slogan, in the current situation it has quite simply lost all meaning. The people are worn out by the many years of senseless war.

[Agayants] The Afghans should decide their own destiny for themselves. They should choose their own future path.

[Kornilov] But the dushmans are continuing to harp on the same old tune, asserting that they intend to continue the war until the Kabul regime falls, that is, until the day a new power is established in Kabul, which they themselves establish. While we are on the subject of government, few people recall that the so-called first interim government of the opposition was set up in Peshawar 10 or more months ago. It was headed at that time by Mohammad Shah. however, the king turned out to have no clothes, as the saying goes. No one recognized this government, and it was not even favored with a funeral march.

[Kassis] What can be said of the latest government? This has also been set up with its own president—some Mojadeddi or other—and its own prime minister, a post claimed by Sayyaf. These two set about things far more actively than Mohammad Shah, distributing posts in good time among the members of the irreconcilable opposition. However, they could not manage to put together anything new, strong and united. In the self-styled supreme body there are no representatives of the [alliance of] eight, who are holed up in Iran. And things are not all going too smoothly and simply for the ringleaders of the formations taking part in today's bloody battles. They have openly rebelled, for example, over the fact that they are commanded by people who have never come under fire in Afghaistan, and their families are lounging in the lap of luxury in expensive hotels and private houses in the United States, Great Britain, and Italy.

[Agayants] Many people are now asking themselves a difficult question: In the current situation, can the irreconcilables in some way be united on a single platform? Judge for yourselves. After I have quoted just one utterance by Golbuddin Hekmatyar: If any party or group other than our own tries to seize Kabul, he said, we will fight against it. Thats the way things are. Golbuddin is known in Afghanistan to occupy the most extreme positions among the opposition forces. Yet, nevertheless, such a verbal demarche aroused confusion even among his most loyal followers.

[Kornilov] Incidentally, when this fanatic was asked whether he also meant his partners in the alliance alongside whom he had lived for so many years in Peshawar, he remained adamant and stressed: "We will start military actions against them, too." I would like to add the following to the matter we have touched upon. There are seven major nationalities in Afghanistan, each of which has its own specific features. Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia are observing these living conglomerates with constant and particular partiality.

[Kassis] They are not just observing, either, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, but trying to impose upon this or that unit, this or that national group of the opposition, so to speak, their own ideas and will. Pressure is being exerted in all directions and in all spheres of life. This is partly reflected in the fact that none of the opposition groups, the alliance of seven of the alliance of eight, has the dominating influence throughout the entire territory of the republic. Yet at the same time each of them is striving, elbowing everything around them out of the way, toward individual power and is prepared to cut the throat of any rival in the name of his own leader. All this gives the opposition no chance of uniting.

[Agayants] Yes, the Afghan opposition resembles a complicated riddle where they muddle one another's cards not only on the bloody field of battle, but also in economic terms, competing for the big sums from their Western protectors. Personal ambition and thirst for personal power is their credo. And yet nevertheless, the opposition fighters continue to carry on their shameful course of fratricide. Let us reflect on just one statistic: In 1 month of fierce battles near Jalalabad, 170,000 missiles and mines were fired on the town, which practically no longer exists. This terrible steel rain can be compared only with the major battles of World War II.

[Kornilov] One should again stress, I think, Nikolay Ivanovich, that the mountains of death-dealing munitions do not find their way into the hands of the mujahidin by magic. The flood of military equipment, missiles, shells and mines is secured by their transportation across the Pakistani border. This is a direct violation of the Geneva accords, which were signed by Islamabad too, as we know. It is perhaps in this context, too, that one should regard the Pakistani president's proposal for setting up some sort of confederation between the two countries, which Pakistan, of course, intends to direct.

[Kassis] Yes, but one should not forget about the unique embellishment of this idea by the president. This states that a confederation may be proclaimed only after a friendly government is established in Kabul, and headed by whom? Well, today, of course, by the most ossified member of the irreconcilables, Hekmatyar. But if the disposition of the stars, moon and a number of caprices of the political weather indicate another candidate, well, that is the will of God. Such things happen.

[Agayants] Last week President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan held another press conference for local and foreign journalists who, despite the numerous difficulties, are continuing to work in Kabul. The president pointed out that although there have been a number of positive aspects which have frankly helped to resolve the Afghan problem, the bloodshed, for which the opposition is to blame, is still continuing to increase and has today assumed unprecedented dimensions. In the war in the towns, Najibullah said, the rebels are using the most modern weapons, and on such a scale that it would be unthinkable that they are not coming in from outside.

[Kornilov] I shall add that the president of the republic said in his letter to the UN secretary general, which describes the particiation of Pakistani commandos and militia men in the battle for Jalalabad, that all this is a violation of the spirit and letter of Geneva and that such interference is fraught with the danger of turning the Afghan conflict into a regional one.

[Kassis] And in conclusion, the president pointed out that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, as a nationwide political force, advocates a coalition government for the country, in which the opposition may take part.

[Agayants] Our time for the program has run out. We thank you for your attention, comrades, all the best to you!

NATO Urged To Modernize Policy, Not Arms

PM0805143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vladimir Peresada "View From Moscow": "Missiles and Policy"]

[Text] We are accustomed to writing about clashes within the North Atlantic bloc although often, it must be admitted, we have rushed to point out minor ones when on the whole consensus prevailed among the partners. But the conflicts that have arisen in NATO today are, perhaps, far in excess of our former flights of hyperbole. "Dramatic clashes," "trench warfare," and "threat of split"—that is how the Western press describes the situation. The question of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is at the center of the developing debate, which is indeed, moreover, very serious.

What specifically is under discussion? Those who favor the modernization of these weapons—above all, the United States and Britain—insist on this happening in the following areas: the replacement of the U.S. "Lance" nuclear missiles, which have a 120-km range, in Western Europe with new missiles with a range of up to 500 km; the additional siting of nuclear-capable F-111 aircraft in Britain; and the improvement of existing nuclear bombs and shells. People in Washington and London cite pro forma the fact that the decision on modernization was made in 1983 by the NATO Nuclear Planning Group in Montebello (Canada) and must be fulfilled as soon as possible.

As if nothing had happened in the world since 1983! As if the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which qualitatively changed the situation in Europe, had not become a reality. One would have thought that the new situation presupposed a fresh look at things as a minimum. Unfortunately, something else has been observed. People are striving to modernize tactical nuclear weapons precisely in order to "compensate" for the loss of the missiles destroyed under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The "updated Lance" blatantly undermines this document. In terms of combat performance they want it to "catch" up the shorter-range missiles that have been lost. As a result the first real reduction in the nuclear threat achieved owing to the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles could be devalued in many respects.

That prospect is giving serious cause for concern in Western Europe. Dissatisfaction with the modernization plans was palpably manifest at the winter session of the NATO Council last year and subsequently assumed an obstructionist character in some countries. The FRG, where the overwhelming majority of the bloc's tactical nuclear missiles are deployed, is the main "obstructionist." While not denying in principle the NATO concept of "nuclear deterrence," Bonn advocated postponing until 1992 a decision on modernizing the "Lances." That stance was supported to a certain extent by Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Greece, Spain, and Italy. Neither the political pressure nor the propaganda blitzes against their partners used by the United States and Britain have as yet borne fruit.

Why have the governments of virtually half the NATO states taken this line? I think that this is based on a sober assessment of both foreign and domestic realities. I am referring, on the one hand, to the less biased attitude to the policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the growing trust in the former and, on the other, to consideration for the way in which the population of Western Europe has reacted to this policy.

A second factor is especially important. Our peace initiatives have helped convince the overwhelming majority of West Europeans that there is no "threat from the East." It is no coincidence that, according to public opinion polls, between 60 and 80 percent of those polled opposed the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons in Western Europe. Can people in the governing cabinets brush this aside? Hardly.

It is obvious that, if modernization is given the go-ahead, the threat to West European countries' security will inevitably increase. Because the Warsaw Pact states are by no means indifferent to an undertaking which does in effect constitute an increase in NATO nuclear might. The Soviet Union resolutely opposes modernization, and we have no intention of engaging in it unless forced. If we are forced, our country will have the wherewithal to respond to the Atlanticists' actions. Of course, realistic West European leaders are also taking this into consideration.

But we are in principle proceeding on the premise that that train of events must be prevented. A decision on modernization cannot fail to affect the progress of the Vienna talks on conventional arms, the confidence-building measures, and the situation in Europe in general. It is in everyone's interests to work toward the phased reduction and then the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons on the continent. That is what the Warsaw Pact state's April initiative—the proposal addressed to the NATO countries to begin separate talks in the near future on these arms, including the nuclear component of the dual-purpose systems—is geared toward. The sides' mutual renunciation of modernization would, in the opinion of the socialist countries, help create a favorable political atmosphere for such talks.

This proposal met with a broad response in Western Europe. The FRG Government in turn submitted the idea of holding talks with the Warsaw Pact states in the near future on the reduction of short-range nuclear missiles and nuclear artillery. A number of other countries which prefer to refrain from "missile modernization" also advocated entering into these talks. But Washington and London rejected our initiative from the outset, and Bonn's proposal provoked a fresh outburst of indignation and accusations against their allies.

To clarify the situation, as it were, U.S. President G. Bush recently stated categorically that "beginning talks with the Soviet Union on tactical nuclear arms would be a mistake." Strange. Because the Warsaw Pact statement contains no concrete proposals on the reduction of particular types of arms that NATO could have regarded as unacceptable. It was only suggested that dialogue be initiated on the basis of the current situation.

The reaction to the Bonn initiative is incomprehensible. Bonn is not advocating any radical steps but only reckons that talks should be held with the USSR on reducing the number of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe before the "Lances" are replaced by a new generation of missiles. Moreover, people in Bonn are only talking about the missiles and artillery from this entire "triad," whereas tactical aviation strike aircraft, in which NATO has a considerable edge, remain outside the bounds of the talks. So what is the reason for the U.S. and British alarm?

U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney gave the frankest response. "The Soviets have always advocated a nuclear-free Europe," he stated. "If we begin talks on tactical missiles now, I'm afraid that that is how things will ultimately end up." People in London are of the same opinion.

I believe that it is not the military but the political side of the problem that is really worrying the United States and Britain. Not wishing to abandon the dangerous concept that "nuclear weapons guarantee peace," the leading NATO powers see a reduction in nuclear confrontation in Europe as threatening a reduction in their influence within the bloc. Hence the attempts to take their "nonconformist" partners "in hand...

A crucial "clarification of relations" is expected at the impending special NATO Council session, to be held at the end of May in Brussels at the level of heads of state and governments. A compromise will possibly be worked out there—the Western press is already writing about the various options for a compromise. The fact that the Bush administration's refusal to compromise in the "tactical missiles dispute" is coming under increasing criticism within the United States itself, notably within the Congress, also works in favor of that. S. Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, even described Washington's stance as "shooting itself in the foot."

The May NATO session will be a jubilee marking the 40th anniversary of the bloc's foundation. Of course, it is hard for its leaders to give up the arms race logic that took shape over these years and the stereotype of the "Soviet threat." But the time requires changes. The peaceful impulses coming from Moscow challenge the traditional NATO thinking. The debate accompanying this jubilee once again shows that it is not weapons but policy that needs to be modernized.

Soviet Envoy Reviews Security Council Activities

LD0605020289 Moscow TASS in English 2254 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] New York 6 May TASS—The situation concerning Afghanistan remains on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council which would resume the consideration of the issue in the event of further unfavourable development of the situation, Alexander Belonogov, permanent representative of the Soviet Union at the United Nations, who presided over at the U.N. Security Council meeting in April, told journalists on Friday [5 May].

The Security Council's seven meetings during which this issue was considered was attended by representatives of more than 40 countries. The debates revealed serious concern over the development of the situation in Afghanistan, the continuing bloodshed as well as the emergence of new obstacles to a settlement.

Only a very small group of countries declared against discussing the issue and reaffirmed their support for the "intransigent" opposition which seeks a military solution to the Afghan problem.

A majority of those who took part in the discussion declared for a strict observance of the Geneva agreements on a settlement of the Afghanistan situation. A broad support was expressed for U.N. efforts to facilitate the Afghan settlement process and emphasised the need for an intra-Afghan dialogue with a view to forming a broad-based government.

The urgent need to enhance the role of the UNGOMAP [UN Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan] and to ensure its effectiveness in monitoring compliance with the Geneva agreements was also pointed out.

Besides, the U.N. Security Council devoted and continues to devote close attention to the state of affairs in Namibia with a view to stabilising the situation in the territory's north and to ensure a continuation of the procession of its transition to independence.

Among other items which were discussed under his chairmanship, the Soviet representative singled out the situation in Lebanon and in the occupied Arab territories. He said that a version of the U.N. Security Council's closed-door meeting to deal with Palestinian territories was under consideration. This, he said, will possibly help avoid avoid unnecessary polemic.

PLO's 'Arafat Holds Talks in Paris With Mitterrand

PM0805093289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition pp 1, 7

[Unnamed "own correspondent" report: "Y. 'Arafat's Diplomacy"]

[Text] Paris, 4 May—The official visit to France by Y. 'Arafat, president of Palestine and leader of the PLO, has ended. The first Franco-Palestinian summit meeting took place.

It should be noted that for President F. Mitterrand and the socialist government, inviting Y. 'Arafat to France for an official visit was an act of considerable political courage. The right-wing opposition categorically opposed the visit, despite the fact that the policy of J. Chirac's own right-wing government, while it was in power, did not rule out dialogue with the Palestinians and French participation in the preparation of an international conference on a Near East settlement with the participation of all interested parties and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The opposition evidently decided to exploit the present situation for its own practical purposes and play on the feelings of the Jewish community in France, the majority of whom opposed Y. 'Arafat's visit to Paris, where mass Jewish protest demonstrations have been held during these days.

Commenting on the boycott of the visit by right-wing opposition leaders, and above all J. Chirac and V. Giscard d'Estaing, many observers stress that Y. 'Arafat's diplomacy put them in a highly disadvantageous position in comparison with President F. Mitterrand and Prime Minister M. Rocard, who, taking the talks with the Palestinian leader very seriously, showed true farsightedness without losing prestige among the French Jews. Even among that group of the French population, which numbers some 700,000, Y. 'Arafat's statement that the provisions of the Palestinian National Charter that jeopardize Israel's existence have "lost their force" and readiness to do everything to ensure peaceful relations between a future Palestinian state and Israel prompted a positive reaction.

President F. Mitterrand described Y. 'Arafat's proposals and statements in Paris as "unequivocal talk" and total clarification of the PLO's position prior to an international conference on the Near East, in whose preparation and holding France intends to play a leading role. In the course of a meeting between French Communist Party Secretary General G. Marchais and Y. 'Arafat in Paris, the French Communists stated that they advocate that France officially recognize the Palestinian state and that Paris take the initiative to create a preparatory committee for an international conference on a Near East settlement.

It is clear that after the Paris talks Israeli Prime Minister Shamir will have to look still harder for arguments to justify his stubborn reluctance to hold talks with the PLO, even within the framework of an international conference on the Near East. The Palestinian leader knocked the last cards out of the Israeli leadership's hands by stating that the Palestinian delegation is prepared to join a united delegation of Arab countries that could be headed by Egypt. Moreover 'Arafat did not come out categorically against the Israeli proposal to hold elections in the occupied territories, stressing only that he is in favor of the "Namibian option," that is, the holding of elections under international monitoring, since "freedom and democracy" are indivisible.

The results of Y. 'Arafat's visit were received as a very concrete step along the path to the establishment of true peace in the Near East.

Republic Ministers Attend Delhi Security Forum

PM0905084189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Parliamentarians' Forum"]

[Text] An international conference "For Peace, Security, and Development in Asia and the Pacific Region" was held in Delhi 27-29 April. The conference was attended by a delegation of Soviet representatives consisting of V.A. Kravets, USSR people's deputy and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of foreign affairs, and M.I. Isinaliyev, Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and Kazakh SSR minister of foreign affairs.

A thorough and frank exchange of opinions on a wide range of the region's problems took place. The beneficial impact of the new political thinking and the Delhi declaration on the processes of the improvement of the international atmosphere in the region and the world as a whole was noted. Parliamentarians, political scientists, and public figures from almost 20 countries expressed themselves unaninimously in favor of a further expansion of the multilateral political dialogue and a joint quest for approaches to the solution of the problems of Asia and the Pacific region with a view to establishing lasting peace and good-neighborly relations there.

Reaction to Hockey Player Mogilnyy's Defection

LD0605213189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 May 89

[Excerpt] At this moment the European men's gymnastics championship is starting in Stockholm's Globen arena, and we hope for success. In recent years our sportsmen have not known defeat. However, the events of the hockey tournament, which was marred by the action of Aleksandr Mogilnyy, are still fresh in the memory.

On arrival in the United States from Stockholm, Gerry Meehan, the manager of the Buffalo Sabres club, who accompanied the former USSR player, held a press conference in Buffalo, but it was announced in advance that Aleksandr Mogilnyy himself would not be taking part. This was explained by the fact that he was frightened by all that had taken place and needed to rest. Answering questions from correspondents, Gerry Meehan said:

[Begin Meehan recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] The Soviet hockey player decided for himself to leave for the United States, and there was no pressure at all on the part of the National Hockey League [NHL]. The Buffalo Sabres enjoyed this opportunity solely at the request of Mogilnyy himself. [end recording]

As a TASS correspondent reports, his statement most resembles the bragging of a horse thief who is pleased with a success. NHL President John Ziegler also stressed that, according to his information, it was the player who established contact with Buffalo Sabres, rather than the other way round. He said that in accordance with U.S. law "we cannot refuse Mogilnyy the right to work if he has the appropriate visa permitting him not only entry into the country but also employment in the United States and Canada." At the same time, Ziegler noted that this episode, which casts a shadow over relations between the Soviet Hockey Federation and the NHL, was extremely disagreeable to him. However, he recalled that reciprocal relations had been maintained even when relations between our two countries were not the best.

Yet, for many people the Mogilnyy incident causes bewilderment, at the very least. All the more so now, when there is particular attention being given to our country. This can be felt by everyone who goes abroad. [passage omitted]

United States & Canada

Reportage on Baker's Forthcoming Visit to Moscow

Bovin Hopes Pause in Ties Will End

PM0605182189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Bovin article: "End of the Pause?"]

[Text] James Baker, who replaced George Shultz in the post of U.S. secretary of state, arrives in Moscow next week. The purpose of the visit is to reestablish regular contacts between Washington and Moscow after quite a long pause and to conduct a general review of the state of Soviet-U.S. relations, as well as their prospects with due regard for the changes in the White House. It cannot be ruled out that the ministers will exchange opinions regarding the possibility of a meeting between their chiefs.

Whenever someone new becomes master of the White House, he always takes a time-out. In order to find his bearings and reshape policy in his own image. This task is particularly urgent for George Bush, the 41st U.S. President. He spent too long in the shadow of his predecessor, and in order to emerge from it he has had to find his own colors, his own hand, and his own approaches to politics. Particularly in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations, where Ronald Reagan left his clear and obvious mark.

In order to find his bearings, Richard Cheney, defense secretary in the new administration, remarked, he had to answer these questions: To what extent does the Soviet Union pose a threat to the West, how has this threat changed, and what circumstances can prompt the Americans to believe that they can lower their level of vigilance? A more general question also evidently had to be considered: Should Soviet-U.S. relations continue to be viewed in the context of the "cold war," or are there grounds for reinterpreting this concept or even abandoning it completely?

Not easy questions. And yet Moscow's policy, the general course of events in the world arena, and the prevailing public sentiments all seemed to make it possible—and without excessive intellectual overloading—to arrive at conclusions which open up the way to increasing the constructive potential of Soviet-U.S. cooperation. However, they were in no hurry to draw conclusions. The pause manifestly dragged on. And it was not weakness of intellect but the strength of political prejudice that dragged it out.

Right-wing conservatives tried to frighten people. They did so in a skilled way, with references to primary sources. Take, for example, General John Galvin, supreme commander in chief, NATO allied armed forces, Europe. According to him, he "worked through" Gorbachev's book "Restructuring..." and made notes in the margins of every page. To the question—What did this book teach him?—the general replied: "Above all, that the author has three wishes: to do away with NATO, do away with the United States, and do away with nuclear weapons." If this is so, they must not hasten to meet the "Russians" but, still better, go back from the "late" Reagan to the "early" Reagan.

There was also pressure from the liberal side. They maintained that the changes in the Soviet Union are radical and irreversible. That Moscow is changing its general view of the world, abandoning revolutionary messianism, and seeking to stabilize international relations on a permanent basis. Whoever does not see this continues frightening himself with the "Soviet threat," just marks time, and risks lagging behind the movement of political thought and practice. If, an article in THE WASHINGTON POST stated, the United States must stay true to the line which it has followed over the past 40 years, this means that "tactics have prevailed over strategy, and everyday considerations over farsightedness." In order to keep his "reputation as a serious man," the newspaper added, Bush must show understanding of the global scale of the current changes. "He must have a compass, and he must show that he has that compass."

The trouble evidently was that the administration and the circles which had influence over it had several compasses, each of which showed "its own direction." "The Bush administration," T. Friedman wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES, "is clearly still torn by the contradictory desire, on the one hand, not to take risks—which means that even when the Soviets make unilateral concessions, no radical new initiatives with regard to Moscow are required—and, on the other, by the desire not to miss chances, which presupposes that the Gorbachev regime is creating an outstanding opportunity to restructure Soviet-U.S. relations." This was written soon after 20 April. But in late April-early May Washington announced that the discussion was over and the political course had been determined.

At present, prior to the ministers' meeting in Moscow, it is hard to judge the substance of this course. Many U.S. journalists and analysts believe that Bush has adopted the concept of the "lowest common denominator," that is, he has preserved continuity but has placed the accents in his own, different way. They also write that Bush's policy will be geared not toward showy gestures nor toward ideological purity, but toward pragmatism, businesslike efficiency, and cautious yet steady compromises. Incidentally, the word "caution" is regarded as a kind of tuning fork, to which White House policy is tuned.

In general, the impression is being formed that the train of Soviet-U.S. relations will proceed in the former direction, but the new U.S. "coengineer" will propose slackening speed somewhat. Initially, at any rate.

It has become known that Baker will propose enlarging the classic, so to speak, agenda for Soviet-U.S. talks. Global problems (ecology, the drugs business, terrorism) will be added to disarmament (the Americans prefer to speak of "arms control"), regional conflicts, Soviet-U.S. relations proper, and human rights. I believe that the addition is perfectly acceptable. Although, apart from everything else, it should be borne in mind that the struggle against terrorism must not presuppose the formulation of a common definition of terrorism. The example of the deideologization of politics, incidentally, is elementary.

A few words about other areas of talks.

Disarmament. At the SALT ["OSV" as published] talks the Americans will apparently change their position on mobile strategic missiles and advocate keeping them. This will bring the positions closer, although it could also create new difficulties. As for reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, Washington is not yet capable of saying anything but "no" here. However, other sentiments predominate in West Europe. Making a government statement 27 April, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl called for "the speediest commencement of talks on short-range nuclear missiles." And Kohl is not alone.

People in West Europe generally look more optimistically to the East than people on the other side of the Atlantic. People on this shore believe that "Gorbachev's glass" is half full, while on the other they believe it is half empty. THE NEW YORK TIMES ascribed this simile to a State Department staffer. I do not know what the head of the said department thinks. But I do know that, while in Moscow, he would prefer a greater degree of NATO unity.

Regional conflicts. Discussion has become easier here. The Soviet Union has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. The Vietnamese are pulling out of Cambodia, and the Cubans out of Angola. Republic of South Africa troops are to leave Namibia. The impression is being created that the Americans have grown somewhat cool toward their beloved bandits from the contras. A mechanism is gradually taking shape if not to prevent then to ease, gradually unblock, and resolve conflict situations. One of the chief lessons is restraint on the part of extraregional forces sympathizing with one of the struggling sides. In this connection Mr Baker will have to hear questions concerning, in particular, the continuing aid to the Afghan mujahidin, as well as concerning the U.S. intention to supply 12,000 units of firearms to "noncommunist forces of the Cambodian resistance." Mr Baker will undoubtedly ask questions himself too. It is important that the answers should not serve the sides' "self-assertion" or the freezing of their position but help to arrive at mutually acceptable solutions.

Soviet-U.S. relations. Their chief political components were given above (disarmament, regional conflicts). But the center of gravity here will be to saturate them with channels of all kinds of communications among people and give them material substance. It will also be necessary to remember the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which prevented the Soviet Union from obtaining most-favored-nation status. I wish to emphasize that the attitude to the Jackson-Vanik amendment goes beyond foreign economic problems. The Americans' readiness to react correctly to the new situation and to the positive impulses by which Moscow set in motion all of world politics is essentially being verified and tested.

Human rights. The acute, frontal confrontation has receded into the past. The time has come for businesslike discussion. The Soviet Union is now engaged in bringing in internal legislation covering individual political rights and freedoms in accordance with world standards and with the documents signed in Vienna. There are also hiccups, as evidenced by the criticism of a number of the provisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 8 April this year. Let us learn from our mistakes and make progress. The Americans in turn, handing over new yet increasingly skimp lists of "refuseniks," must be ready to listen to impartial views on citizens' socioeconomic rights. These have been poorly elaborated in U.S. legislation and require a more developed system of protection. Mutual recognition of the fact that the whole package of democratic rights and freedoms is of value to all mankind is an important step toward strengthening the world's integrity and unity—on which the new political thinking insists.

It is hard to say what will be the specific share of each of the five enumerated points during the Moscow talks. Not that this is of any special significance. What is significant is the desire to understand one another better, not to waste what has been achieved, and to go further so that people may lead a calmer life in the United States, in the Soviet Union, and throughout the world. This desire exists in Moscow. And James Baker's visit will make it possible to realize whether it exists in Washington. If it does, we can hope that the pause is coming to an end and that the understandable caution will not turn into a brake on the further improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Biryukov on Expectations From Visit

LD0905132489 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 9 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov:

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III arrives in Moscow tomorrow at the invitation of the Soviet Government. People in the Soviet Union expect this visit further to develop Soviet-U.S. relations. The Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, dozens of agreements on bilateral cooperation concluded in recent years, and the joint efforts to settle regional conflicts are a sound foundation for this.

"Things do not move as vigorously at present," Aleksey Obukhov, head of the U.S. and Canada Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told TASS. "The new U.S. Administration made a pause to analyse foreign policy priorities. This is normal. But the negotiating process needs intensification now in all directions. I hope that Baker's visit will lead exactly to this".

A very important principle of constructive continuity in Soviet- American relations was agreed upon during the New York meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in December 1988. The task now is to go ahead relying on this principle, to be guided by it and make it acquire specific content. Proceeding from this, the Soviet side is preparing for serious and comprehensive talks with Baker on the broadest spectrum of issues to include disarmament, efforts to enhance security and settle regional conflicts, problems of humanitarian cooperation, and bilateral relations. Questions related to combatting narcotics addiction and terrorism, and environmental protection can be added to this.

A treaty on strategic offensive armaments will certainly be central to the participants in the Soviet-U.S. meeting. The Soviet side favours an early resumption of the talks on nuclear and space arms. The more so that a lot has been achieved in this field, documents have been drafted. Much depends now on what the U.S. secretary of state will bring on this issue in his briefcase.

Responding to questions from the TIME magazine on what he hoped will come out of the opening Soviet-American meeting, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said that "The two sides are able not only to preserve but also build on everything positive that has been accomplished in Soviet-U.S. relations over the past three to four years - something the international community is looking forward to. It is my hope that the upcoming talks in Moscow with the secretary of state will generate the dynamics needed for that."

Possible 'New Thinking' in U.S.

LD0905094189 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 8 May 89

[Excerpts] Secretary of State James Baker arrives in Moscow on Wednesday for a 2-day visit. Vladislav Kozyakov comments:

[Passage omitted] Is the state secretary bringing new ideas that can give new content to the Soviet-American dialogue? Has the new administration's analysis of policy toward the East led to reciprocal steps in view of perestroyka in the USSR and Soviet initiatives?

According to one American official, President Gorbachev's speech in the United Nations is regarded by many in the United States as the total expression of new thinking. Will the American side show the same new thinking?

Some statements made in Washington have been decidedly discouraging. A State Department spokesman has said the United States is against the creation of a coalition government in Afghanistan, but this means continuing the war, yet the United States is one of the guarantors of the Geneva agreements. Washington has also turned down the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to hold talks at an early date on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, although the idea of such negotiations is finding increasing support in NATO.

It looks as if the more Moscow tries to reach agreement with the West, the more the United States objects.

The White House press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, has even said the administration is very disturbed by the Soviet attempts to persuade people that there is no longer a threat from the Soviet Union. Clearly American policy is burdened with stereotypes, but if this is so, both sides must be patient and work still harder to bring about greater understanding and trust. Indeed, as President Gorbachev has said, despite all the importance of what the USSR and United States have agreed on, their major political achievement is the dialogue they have made regular.

U.S. Media Cited on Moscow Agenda

PM0905105389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 May 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On the Eve of Moscow Visit"]

[Text] Washington, 8 May—U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker leaves today on his first official visit to the USSR for talks during which, the U.S. press reports, it is planned to tackle the entire complex of relations between the two countries. En route to Moscow he will make a stopover in Helsinki.

According to THE WASHINGTON POST, which cites aides to the head of the State Department, "Baker hopes to resume the development of U.S. - Soviet relations and leave the Bush administration's mark on them." THE BOSTON GLOBE points out that the upcoming talks will center on questions of arms control, regional conflicts, bilateral relations, and also human rights. The newspaper indicates that there are plans to broaden this traditional agenda by adding problems of environmental protection and the fight against international drug trafficking and terrorism.

According to AP, the U.S. side intends to put the main emphasis in the talks on discussions of regional conflicts, above all Afghanistan, Central America, and the Near East. It is also expected that a date for the resumption of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva will be agreed during the Moscow talks.

However, THE WASHINGTON POST points out that "Baker will hardly set out details of the new administration's stance at the arms talks, which are still being elaborated." Earlier statements by high-ranking figures in the Bush administration indicate that it is still committed to the "Star Wars" program, which is the main obstacle to an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

On the eve of Baker's visit to Moscow THE WASHINGTON POST has published a lengthy article on the state of USSR-U.S. relations based on an assessment of prospects for their development made by leading U.S. foreign policy experts and former high-ranking members of previous administrations. They include former U.S. Secretaries of State H. Kissinger and C. Vance; Z. Brzezinski, former presidential assistant for national security affairs; and R. McNamara, former U.S. defense secretary. They are virtually all unanimous that the Bush administration must implement a more vigorous foreign policy and exploit the new opportunities provided by restructuring in the USSR to strengthen Soviet-U.S. mutual understanding and relax international tension.

Soviets To Raise Cyprus Issue

NC0805053989 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 0330 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] A Soviet official has stated that the Soviet Union will raise the Cyprus issue for discussion during U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's talks in Moscow. This statement was made by Professor R.A. Smarov, head of the Soviet delegation at yesterday's Cyprus-Soviet meeting for peace and disarmament. Speaking at the meeting in Nicosia, Professor Smarov said that in the past the United States had refused to discuss the Cyprus issue so that the Soviet Union would be excluded from the procedure for settling the problem. Now, Smarov said, times have changed, and the talks will show the degree of U.S. readiness to understand the new reality.

Shevardnadze's TIME Interview Reprinted

PM0905104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed reprint of Shevardnadze's interview with TIME magazine; "E.A. Shevardnadze's Replies to TIME Magazine's Questions"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text]E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has granted an interview to the U.S. TIME magazine. We publish below the full text of the Soviet minister's replies to written questions from a correspondent of that magazine.

Q. Your approach to foreign policy has come to be identified with the term "new political thinking." The concept still remains vague for many people in the West. What does the "new thinking" really mean in practical terms?

A. I would recall that Mikhail Gorbachev's book, published in the United States, was titled "Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World."

We began with a critical review of our perceptions of the world and its development trends, with the identification of our national interests and the way those interests can be ensured in current circumstances.

That review enabled us to draw broader conclusions related to the emergence of a single, interrelated and interdependent world and to the nature of international relations in such a world.

Therefore, there are two interconnected levels—our domestic and international—in new political thinking.

For instance, at the domestic level, decisions were taken that paved the way for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

At the international level, agreements were reached in Stockholm and at the Vienna meeting of the CSCE participating states, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed.

In international relations, new political thinking is based on several principles:

- Primacy of universal human values over national, class, ideological, or any other values;

- Balance of interests as a way of arriving at the universal human denominator in relations among states;

- Freedom of choice as a preeminent right that follows from the idea of the sovereign equality of nations.

Underlying the new thinking is the perception that most of the present problems related to security, economy, development, ecology, human and individual rights have a global and supranational nature.

In practical terms, new thinking implies renunciation of the use of force in international affairs, reliance on political means of ensuring security, renunciation of confrontation in favor of cooperation and joint action, removal of ideology from relations among states, recognition of the global and universal nature of human rights and international standards in the humanitarian field.

Rather than being a contrived concept or theoretical scheme, new thinking constitutes a system of conclusions that are obtained as a result of objective scientific analysis of the existing world realities and of selection of effective and acceptable means to settle international problems.

New thinking is not a dogma and does not claim to be the ultimate truth. It preaches and professes the belief that any problem whatsoever can be rationally settled, if approached rationally.

In recent years, the record of international relations has proved that new thinking is working and producing tangible results.

Q. What is your impression, so far, of the new administration in Washington? What do you hope will come out of your meetings on May 10-11 with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker?

A. The impression which is largely based on my first discussion with Secretary of State James Baker in Vienna, quite intensive albeit brief, is that the two sides are able not only to preserve but also to build on everything positive that has been accomplished in Soviet- U.S. relations over the past three to four years—something the international community is looking forward to. It is my hope that the upcoming talks in Moscow with the secretary of state will generate the dynamic needed for that.

Q. How would you assess the progress of arms control negotiations? If you could only get one concession from the U.S. what would it be?

A. The impressive success that the signing of the INF Treaty proved to be has significantly broadened the perception of what can be achieved in the area of arms control. In our view, conditions are now in place for a breakthrough in as many as three directions—prohibition of chemical weapons, reduction of conventional arms in Europe and cuts in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive arms. A single concession will not do the job. Indeed, what matters are not concessions but joint search for and identification of such formulas that would ensure a qualitatively new level of universal security. I am convinced that this is quite possible.

Q. Western defense experts maintain that even if the unilateral Soviet troops withdrawals in Europe are a positive step in the conventional arms field, they still do not off-set the Warsaw Pact's numerical advantages. What is your response?

A. Our experts hold a different view. Let me call your attention to the fact that proposals submitted by the Warsaw Treaty member countries at the Vienna talks provide for deep cuts in the armed forces of the two alliances, down to equal levels. Such cuts, which may be asymmetrical, would apply to both those weapon systems in which the Warsaw Treaty countries have an edge and the weapons in respect to which the advantage is on NATO's side. I believe that this approach is logical and quite fair.

Q. What type of relationship do you envision with China? Can it be as close as it was in the 1950s? What type of obstacle does Cambodia present to improving relations?

A. We foresee that normal, good-neighborly relations will develop with China, beneficial not just to the people of our two countries but also to the entire international community, in brief, relations which these days befit two great socialist powers sharing a common border. Of course, there can be no return to the 1950s. That is not the objective. Nor can there be a return to the 1960s, either.

On the subject of Cambodia, what you probably have in mind is the problem of settlement in that country which, incidentally, we have been promoting in every possible way. We believe that the problem of settlement, which is near resolution, should not stand in the way of our improved relations with the People's Republic of China.

Q. Now that Soviet forces have withdrawn from Afghanistan, are you confident that the government in Kabul can stabilize the situation in the country? What long-term solution do you see for Afghanistan?

A. I am confident that it can, provided the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan are full complied with.

The current situation is grave because Pakistan is interfering on a massive scale in support of the intransigent Afghan opposition.

That interference must stop. The international community should not remain indifferent in a situation where the provisions of the accord, drawn up with the participation and under the aegis of the United Nations and guaranteed by the prestige of two great powers, are being violated. Pakistan's conduct undercuts the validity of law and international commitments, and erodes the belief in the potential of political means to resolve regional conflicts.

Durable peace and tranquility in Afghanistan can only be secured by the Afghans themselves through the process of developing an internal Afghan dialogue and formulating a political compromise acceptable to all the parties in such a dialogue.

Q. Given the postwar division of Europe, how far can the countries of Eastern Europe go in developing relations with the West? Can you imagine any scenario where internal disturbances in a Warsaw Pact country would require Soviet military intervention?

A. As far as any NATO country in developing its relations with the East— no, I cannot imagine such a scenario.

Let me point out in this connection that the United States refuses to rule out the possibility of the use of force in a situation which, in the U.S. view, threatens American "vital interests". I am saying this as a footnote.

Q. What is your working relationship like with President Gorbachev? How often do you talk with him or see him? What role does the Politburo play in making decisions about Soviet foreign policy?

A. Somehow, I have never given thought to this or, to be more exact, there has been no need to take a look at our work "from the outside", as it were.

But since you ask that question I will try to answer. I believe I should start with the atmosphere in the Politburo now. In human terms I would describe it as unique. Discussions are free, open and critical, proceeding in a comradely and respectful spirit—they are marked by exacting principles and standards.

Decisions are adopted collectively and democratically. They are carefully finalized taking into account the views of all comrades. As a rule, we adopt decisions and formulations by consensus.

Naturally, that style requires continuous and frequent daily contacts between the general secretary and all members of the Politburo. Such contacts are maintained at personal meetings, over the telephone and through an exchange of notes.

Let me also say that this atmosphere within the Politburo, the general secretary's style of work, encourages us to do our utmost to act as one closely-knit team and to give the best of ourselves to restructuring.

As for the role of the Politburo, it makes decisions on all fundamental foreign policy issues.

Q. The new thinking in foreign policy has brought you great success abroad, but other aspects of President Gorbachev's reform program have not been proceeding so well at home. How has the slow progress of restructuring made your job as foreign minister more difficult?

A. Allow me to disagree with your assessments of how restructuring in our country proceeds and what it has accomplished. Incidentally, at this point, I would also take issue not only with you but also with some distinguished politicians in the United States whose analysis of the restructuring processes in the Soviet Union is, quite honestly, shallow and superficial.

Today we are tackling the most formidable challenge of restructuring, namely, laying the groundwork for new relations in our economy and society, bringing about deep revolutionary changes in the political system, building the structure of a state based on the rule of law and adopting effective methods of managing the economy. Without restructuring and renewal in our society there would have been no changes in our foreign policy or in international relations.

Recently your magazine published a special issue "The New USSR". This is a very fitting title. The Soviet Union is indeed new. It will take time to get settled down in this house, now being built anew, to make life in it comfortable.

We are not saying that everything goes well both inside the country and in our foreign relations. In both areas there are difficulties, frustrating loose ends and unfinished business. Nevertheless, these are just trees. Behind them we must see the real forest of restructuring.

As minister, I am more preoccupied now with ensuring that foreign policy does not lag behind or stand in the way of restructuring.

The diplomatic service must now allow external factors to result in bottlenecks hampering the development of our economy, science, technology and culture or the revival in the intellectual sphere. This is our primary concern.

Q. As the former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Georgian Republic, how serious, in your view, is the Soviet Union's nationalities problem? After the recent tragedy in Tbilisi, you said that it was often more difficult to carry on dialogue with your own people than with foreign partners. What did you mean by this?

A. In my view, the question of nationalities is among the most complex and difficult issues. It will require enormous attention.

In this sphere, too, we must move faster adopting new thinking. Above all, new thinking is full regard for the interests of all nations and nationalities. This is not easy to accomplish in a vast country of many nationalities like the Soviet Union. We will have to strike the right and stable balance between the wishes and aspirations of each nation and the imperatives for strengthening our union. This challenge can be met only through democracy and renewal as regards every aspect of functioning of the union of fiteen equal and sovereign republics.

It is important to implement and be guided by two principles in the entire work to improve relations between nationalities.

First: "strong center, strong republics."

Second: Bringing all peoples closer together through progress and prosperity of every people.

It is only on this basis that problems in the relations between nationalities in our state can be resolved in line with contemporary perceptions today.

With regard to the dialogue, what I had in mind was that in a number of places senior party and Soviet officials have kept the habit of commanding and administering—there are instances of extreme intolerance of critical or dissenting view, inability or unwillingness to engage in a dialogue with people holding unorthodox views. Occasionally, there is a trend to stick various kinds of labels on people, to accuse them of all sins imaginable, rather than listen to them.

Naturally, one wonders: If we maintain a respectful and civilized dialogue with representatives from various countries, why is it that at times it does not work with some sectors of our society, which sometimes indeed raise the question of correcting mistakes and injustices in resolute terms.

Some people are yet to realize that the only force allowed in a dialogue with people is the force of arguments, the force of logic and the force of example. Only that force is acceptable and can yield results.

Both within society and in foreign policy there is no alternative to a search for a balance of interests of various sectors of society which act within the framework of our constitution and Soviet laws.

Q. When you became foreign minister in 1985, you were not viewed as a man with vast experience in foreign affairs. What has surprised you most about your job as Soviet foreign minister? What would you say has been your greatest achievement? Your most difficult moment? How have your new responsibilities changed your personal life?

A. Quite honestly, I cannot recall what was the most unexpected. Somehow, I never thought about it. Very many things were new. There must have been unexpected developments in specific situations. But I cannot recall one global, major surprise.

I am hard put to answer the question about the achievements. I keep no records and make no comparisons. I am pleased with every positive result, big or small.

What I take to heart more are failures and missed opportunities, which, unfortunately, have been many.

My toughest challenge has been my recent mission to Tbilisi.

If my private life has changed at all, it changed only in that I have to spend more time away from my country and, consequently, away from my home.

U.S. Officials Dissociate From Cheney 'Pessimism'

PM0505142989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Blinov article: "Bush Corrects Cheney"]

[Text] "During our meeting in New York I clearly intimated to M. Gorbachev that we wish restructuring success," was the explanation U.S. President G. Bush gave to journalists who accompanied him late last week on a trip to New York.

The U.S. President explained his position following statements made by U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney which had prompted baffled questions in the press. In an interview with the CNN television channel, the Pentagon chief expressed his skepticism concerning the prospects of the political and economic reforms in the USSR. Venturing onto the shaky ground of political predictions, Cheney said that he "guesses" that the reforms will "fail" and a "much more hostile" leadership will be set up in the USSR. Earlier Cheney expressed similar views in his speech to a U.S. Congress committee where he presented a demand for appropriations for new military programs.

The defense secretary's statements were not supported in the White House. Literally the next day J. Sununu, leader of the White House staff, said that they do "not reflect the President's viewpoint." "This is a personal opinion the reasons for which are unclear to me," M. Fitzwater, the President's press secretary, stated to journalists. Secretary of State J. Baker also dissociated himself from Cheney.

As THE NEW YORK TIMES notes, President Bush was "upset" by the statements made by his defense secretary. "Administration officials state that the White House did not tick off Cheney, but he will obviously have to avoid making fresh comments in the near future" about the USSR.

There has been criticism in the U.S. press of the U.S. defense secretary's excursions into Sovietology. Moreover, it is noted bluntly that Cheney's "pessimism" was ordered by the military-industrial complex. "Cheney's statement, which is unusual for a ranking official, is tactless," WASHINGTON POST observer Mary McGrory believes. "But in the light of the post occupied by Cheney it makes sense—he has to extract from Congress $300 billion in appropriations for the Pentagon. But can such funds be obtained if the 'reliable' enemy withdraws his forces, holds elections, and raises human rights problems for discussion?" Hence the pessimism of the attempt to recall the "evil empire." "It is becoming difficult for the conservatives, who are now faced with a future without the 'red threat,'" M. McGrory believes.

In the authoritative journalist's opinion, the present U.S. Administration should not simply dissociate itself this time from the statements by the military department leader, but should respond to the Soviet restructuring and peace initiatives with practical deeds—"attempt to do something more creative than the bureaucratic survey of the state of relations with the Soviets" (now being conducted by the U.S. Administration).

Washington Symposium on Gorbachev Reforms Noted

PM0805122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Do Not Miss the Chance"]

[Text] Washington, 3 May—A symposium on the theme "Shaping the Future: M.S. Gorbachev's Reforms and the West's Response" has been held in the U.S. capital. The symposium, organized by the influential public organization the Committee for National Security, was attended by members of the general public and also by a number of members of U.S. Congress. In his opening speech Paul Warnke, honorary chairman of the Committee and director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under Carter, stressed the exceptional importance of the positive changes taking place in the Soviet Union and the world in general, which are contributing to the further easing of tension and acceleration of the process of curbing the arms race, which is of vital importance for all countries and peoples.

The symposium participants were familiarized with the report "New Thinking in Soviet Defense Policy: New Opportunities for Initiatives in the Arms Control Sphere," prepared by the Committee for National Security. Its authors include Paul Warnke, former assistant to the U.S. Defense Secretary Lawrence Korb; former CIA Director William Colby; and other experts. In the report the committee, in particular, urges the administration to immediately start talks with the Soviet Union on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapon arsenals in Europe.

Retired Officers View Military Conference

PM0805093089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Gan report: "Seeking Consensus"; for further reportage on the 3-4 May Washington conference of retired U.S. and Soviet officers, see the 3 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 10, and the 5 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 15]

[Text] Washington, 4 May—The leaders of the USSR and the United States are soon to receive a document drafted at a rather unusual conference just held in Washington. Under the slogan "Preventing War Through Mutual Respect and Cooperation," delegations of retired generals and admirals from the two countries held an exchange of opinions in the American capital.

For 2 days acknowledged experts in the military-political sphere and well-known military leaders discussed the most burning problems in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Mutual complaints that hamper progress in curbing the arms race were carefully studied and analyzed. On the basis of the results of the debates a joint statement was adopted, emphasizing those of the sides' disarmament proposals that should be implemented first. Although the conference was unofficial, its participants expressed the hope that the two countries' governments will heed their opinion.

Sharing his impressions in a talk with PRAVDA's correspondent, Lieutenant General M. Milshteyn, retired, leader of the Soviet delegation, drew attention to the emergence of elements of the new thinking in the American participants in the meeting. In a number of speeches by U.S. representatives, he said, mention was made of the need for a restructuring of American military approaches, including the approach to such problems as NATO doctrine and the concept of first use of nuclear weapons. On their part, proposals were put forward to begin talks on the reduction and even elimination of short-range missiles and on the complete ending of nuclear tests, which certainly demonstrates the influence of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union.

M. Milshteyn noted that the question of whether nuclear deterrence remains the main way of preventing war was debated heatedly. Some complaints were also made to the Soviet delegation. The Americans noted, for instance, that it is very difficult to demonstrate the need for arms reduction in conditions where there is still a lack of official data on the Soviet military budget.

On the whole, the leader of the Soviet delegation stated, the meeting was very useful. Its significance must not, of course, be overestimated, but it will have some influence on the sides' positions.

This is also the opinion of Major General Yu. Lebedev, deputy chief of a directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, who said that the conference reflected the wide public recognition of the importance of preserving peace by means of ending the arms race and through disarmament. The Americans, he noted, demonstrated an understanding of the processes of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization taking place in the Soviet Union.

Rear Admiral G. Larocque, retired, leader of the U.S. delegation, stated that the exchanges of opinions were of a lively and frank nature, dictated by the two sides' desire to find ways of lessening tension and reducing the danger of war.

Significance of Pentagon Budget Cuts Questioned

PM0305115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Sukhoy report: "Budget Slowing Down?"]

[Text] New York, 2 May—Like an enormous aircraft carrier slowing down because of a strong countercurrent, the U.S. military budget seems to be slowing its rate of growth under pressure from the balance of payments deficit.

The latest, recently announced cuts in military expenditure, which total $10 billion, mean that the Department of Defense budget for the 1990 fiscal year will remain roughly the same as in the current, 1989 fiscal year.

The idea of increasing U.S. Naval Forces to 600 warships was the first to "sink." The Pentagon has been nursing this idea since the beginning of the eighties. Now, however, as Defense Secretary R. Cheney announced at the hearings in the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, "there is no real possibility of raising the number of our warships up to 600 in the foreseeable future."

Cheney also said that the U.S. Navy will be reducing its military presence in some regions of the world's oceans. In particular, a group of U.S. warships will not now be permanently stationed in the Persian Gulf region. "I do not think this is necessary," Cheney remarked.

In recent years many Congressmen have put forward the demand that the number of U.S. troops in Western Europe be reduced. Cuts—true, still not very significant—are promised: More than 8,000 servicemen will return home. After all, the U.S. contingent in Western Europe amounts to some 350,000 servicemen.

The head of the U.S. military department also announced that some costly military programs have been turned down. But, for the sake of fairness, it should be pointed out that they all came under the category of "long-term" programs. Of the programs whose implementation is planned for the more immediate future, only one has been cancelled. The program was for the construction of the "Osprey" V-22 tilt-rotor, the creation of which is favored by the command of the Marine Corps.

So is the U.S. military budget being cut or not? If we compare today's drafts and proposals with those which were made 2 or 3 years ago, it seems that it is being reduced. But if we analyze the proposed expenditure on the main military programs, most of them still remain inviolable. This means that growth in the Pentagon budget is certainly not ruled out in the future. Still, we must wait and see....

Increase in Available Transport to U.S. Sought

18000950 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[Response by V. Vorobyev to reader's inquiry: "Is it True?"]

[Text] Is it true that there are no airplane tickets for flying to the United States until the end of the year? [signed] O. Klokov, Odessa.

V. Vorobyev, director of the regional commercial directorate for the American countries of the international commercial administration of Aeroflot responds:

"This rumor is founded on somewhat distorted information. We have indeed stopped taking orders for advanced seat bookings for people traveling to the United States independently. What caused this? According to the Visa and Registration Department, the number of those wanting to "discover America" this year has tripled over last year. As you can understand, we try first and foremost to provide tickets for those traveling to the United States on business or as a member of a delegation, and the number of such individuals has increased with the strengthening of ties between the Soviet and American peoples. For this category of departures, tickets will be sold 1 month in advance of flights. For private individuals, 2 weeks. We are increasing our number of flights to eight per week in order to solve the ticket problem. Incidentally, this depends not only on our opportunities, but on the U.S. State Department. Moreover, starting in April, we are organizing several supplemental flights from Yerevan, Kiev and Moscow especially for those departing for the United States for residence there. But we feel that this year, Aeroflot alone cannot provide tickets to all those who want them. Therefore, we appealed to the government with a proposal to more actively involve our maritime fleet in civil transportation."

TASS Notes Landing of Space Shuttle 'Atlantis'

LD0805200289 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] San Francisco May 8 TASS—The Atlantis shuttle with five astronauts on board made a safe landing on Edwards Air Force Base, California, after a four-day mission.

USSR, U.S. Sign Geological Research Agreement

LD0605213689 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Washington May 6 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are multifarious and another page has been turned today, Soviet Ambassador to the United States Yuriy Dubinin said, describing the signing of the memorandum about the agreement on cooperation in the sphere of basic scientific research between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. National Science Foundation and the memorandum about the agreement on cooperation in earth's sciences signed between the Soviet Geological Ministry and the U.S. Geological Survey in the Soviet Embassy in the United States on Saturday.

The two documents were also signed at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow at a similar ceremony.

Both documents are designed to boost scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries and were drawn up on the basis of the inter-governmental agreement on basic research between the Soviet Union and the United States which was signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in Paris in January of 1989.

The documents stipulate the implementation of joint programmes in theoretical physics, research in the Arctic and the north, geology and engineering.

The two countries have many common interests in geological research, Dallas Peck, director of the U.S. Geological Survey, told TASS.

Deep continental drilling was one of them, he said, stressing that the United States is interested in learning more about Soviet progress in this sphere.

He praised the practical importance of the signed documents.

U.S. experts would like to compare their estimates of ore deposits and the assessment of the geological situation in Alaska and Siberia with Soviet findings, he said.

The documents envisage scientific exchanges and joint geological research which will enable us to take stock of mineral resources deposits in certain areas of our two countries, he said. The importance of thus obtained data for our economies can hardly be overestimated, he added.

Peck said the newly-signed documents will both serve to improve Soviet-American relations and will result in new mining technologies.

China

Students Honor '4 May' Movement, Return to Class

PM0805113589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Students Return to Lecture Halls"]

[Text] Beijing—The recent student demonstrations do not signify political instability in China, CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has said during a meeting with participants in the Asian Development Bank session which is now being held in Beijing.

In his opinion the slogans of the demonstrators in support of the Communist Party, socialism, reform, the constitution, and the struggle against corruption mean that they do not oppose the system as such but merely want to rectify errors in the work of the party and government. Zhao Ziyang assured the foreign financiers that there will be no major upheavals in China and the present demonstrations will gradually abate. Instances of corruption against which the students are protesting occur because of the imperfection of the legal system and public control and the lack of openness in the work of the organs of power gives rise to rumors and exaggerations. The majority of officials, Zhao Ziyang noted, have no source of income except their wages. To resolve the problems which are arising, he continued, dialogues and consultations will take place between representatives of the party and government and students, workers, the intelligentsia, and all social strata of society.

After yesterday's mass demonstration following the official meeting in honor of the 70th anniversary of the "4 May" movement, the organizers of the 2-week boycott of classes announced that the students are returning to the lecture halls. They have issued this appeal to all Beijing students, reserving the right subsequently to demand dialogue with the government and to undertake coordinated actions in the future. The declaration which was read out at the time described the 3 weeks of actions by students since the death of former CPC Central Committee General Secretary Hu Yaobang as the most wide-scale patriotic movement in the past 70 years and a continuation of the "4 May" movement. The declaration also noted that the demand for democracy, honest administration, and more attention toward science and education in no way contradicts the ideas of the government and is aimed at modernizing the country.

The Chinese press notes that over 200 Chinese journalists of various mass media have joined the students in demanding freedom of the press.

Student Unrest Echoes 1919 Events

PM0905090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Everything But Academic Debates..."]

[Text] Beijing—On 4 May 1919 columns of students converged on Beijing's central Tiananmen Square. They were carrying posters with the inscriptions: "The Fatherland Is in Danger!"; "Compatriots Rise!"; "We Will Defend Our State Sovereignty!" What had mobilized the patriots? Against expectations, the Paris Peace Conference had decided to hand over to Japan control over the Chinese province of Shandong and all the concessions which Germany had held in China. The demonstrators demanded the resignation of the ministers who had discredited themselves by their subservience to Japanese militarism. The unrest spread to virtually all major cities. Under the pressure of popular mass protests, the Chinese delegation was compelled to refuse to sign the Versailles Peace Treaty 28 June 1919.

Chinese historians evaluate this event as an "anti-imperialist, antifeudal revolution which changed the course of China's history and culture." Progressive people in China at that time were looking for a road to the future. Ideologists of the movement—Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, Li Dazhao, and others—were engaged in a polemic in the journal NEW YOUTH about the country's paths of sociopolitical development. Their views differed, but they were united by a single aim—achieving the rebirth of China.

Recently the scientist Jin Chongji wrote in the newspaper GUANGMING RIBAO: "At first the Chinese saw a way out in following Western examples. The struggle reached its apogee in the revolution of 1911. However the political institutions of the West underwent a deformation in China.... The bourgeois republic failed.... People understood that it was impossible to advance without dismantling the system to its foundations. Why did the progressive youth turn to the October revolution led by Lenin? The first socialist state had survived famine, civil war, and foreign intervention. How could this not exert its attraction?"

"Why are we celebrating the 70th anniversary of the '4 May Movement'?"—a commentator asks in the latest issue of the CPC Central Committee theoretical journal QUISHI. "This great patriotic movement for a new culture which raised the banner of democracy and science awakened the Chinese people. Gradually the Chinese came to the conclusion: Only Marxism is in keeping with the realities of the country, only it can lead the people to topple imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capital and lead to the final liberation. History has proved that the capitalist path is unsuitable for China, only socialism can save the country."

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the patriotic movement conferences and symposiums were held in the country whose participants drew attention to new facets of the historical phenomenon. The discussions were wide-ranging; however, calls for the emancipation of thought and democracy rang out loudest.

Democracy and science—the movement's fundamental principles—are essential for a flourishing and strong civilized China. What is their status today? Newspaper observers and scientists are discussing this theme at symposiums. People here are convinced: The new era in understanding the role of democracy and science in the rebirth of the country began in December 1978 at the CPC Central Committee Plenum which paved the way for reforms. "There Can Be No Modernization Without Democracy," "Democracy Is Not Just a Means But Also the Aim of Development," and "Science Is the Number One Productive Force." For these slogans to become reality, they must be grasped by the whole party and the whole nation. Besides, the political scientist Yan Jiaqi believes, these two magical instruments have to be supplemented by a further two: a rule-of-law system and a commodity economy. Now that the reform is experiencing difficulties, the theory of "neoauthoritarianism" has been put forward in China's academic circles. It is a quest for a tough regime capable of implementing a liberal economic policy and maintaining order within the market system. Most scientists reject this alternative, regarding it as a departure from the policy of democracy.

As you can see, the debates which are under way in China in connection with the 70th anniversary of the "4 May Movement" are by no means academic....

As this issue was going to press, our correspondent filed the following additional report:

Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, has issued an appeal to the nation to resolutely reject social unrest and maintain unity and stability, which are of vital importance for the reform and modernization.

Addressing a ceremonial meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the "4 May Movement," he called on people to value highly the stable situation which has reigned in the country since the CPC Central Committee December (1978) Plenum. Zhao Ziyang noted: The students' support for democracy, education, and science and their protests against corruption are entirely in keeping with the aims of the party. He also said that building and reforms in China are inseparably linked with the leadership of the party.

On the same day more than 20,000 Beijing students walked up the Avenue of Perpetual Peace, the main thoroughfare of the city, toward Tiananmen Square. They carried slogans which read: "We Support the Communist Party!", "Give Us Democracy and Freedom!", "Long Live the Spirit of 4 May!"

Li Peng Tells Asia Bank Group of Internal Status

Student, Government Demands Concur

LD0505224989 Moscow TASS in English 2232 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 6 TASS—The Chinese Government will seek to preserve national stability, to remove the present shortcomings and to eradicate corruption, said on Friday Li Peng, premier of the Chinese State Council, at a meeting with the heads of delegations participating in the annual 22nd session of the Asian Development Bank, which is under way here.

Describing the situation in the country, Li Peng noted, among other things, that in the recent past university students held demonstrations and boycotted lessons. Under these conditions the government took appropriate measures preventing the spread of unrest. Now students resumed lessons, and the dialogue between the government and young people will continue. This is a result of joint efforts made by the government and students, the Chinese premier noted.

He made a special stress on the fact that students' demands concur with the government's aspirations: to put the economy straight, to eradicate corruption in party and government organs and to pay due attention to the development of education and science. Having identical positions, the two sides can improve mutual understanding by expanding the dialogue, said Li Peng.

Modernisation is the most important task of China whose population reached 1.1 billion, the head of the government said. He named a peaceful outside environment and inside political stability as the necessary conditions for its fulfilment. He also expressed hope that students, as well as the entire nation, would work under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, promoting the cause of China's modernization by implementation of the reform and the policy of openness.

The XINHUA NEWS AGENCY also notes that the premier expressed satisfaction with the holding of the bank's present session in the Chinese capital. He singled out the bank's positive role in transforming the Asian-Pacific region and expressed hope that it would continue making a contribution to the region's development.

PRC 'Stable'; Welcomes Business Ties

LD0605142389 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 6 May 89

[TEXT] Beijing May 6 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Gennadiy Krivosheev:

To implement its programme of modernisation China needs the assistance of other countries, member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Premier Li Peng told here the participants of the current, 22nd session of the board of directors of the Asia Development Bank.

A number of countries and international organisations have already advanced financial assistance to China and are involved in launching joint ventures. The Chinese People's Republic will in future continue to improve conditions for foreign investments in its economy and welcome the development of cooperation between the world business circles and China, Li Peng stressed.

The Chinese premier also dwelt on the problem of recent student unrest in the capital and some other cities of the country. He pointed out, among other things, that in the complex situation the government acted correctly, coolly and with restraint, and thus averted the escalation of unrest. At present most of the students have returned to their classes, the dialogue with them will continue.

"I can declare with full responsibility that the political situation in China is stable, the government will make efforts in order to ensure order in the country and to preclude chaos, it will take up in earnest work to overcome shortfalls in its work," the premier of the State Council said.

Normalization Will Decide USSR, China Destinies

OW0505052089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 15 Apr 89

[Announcer read commentary by Volskiy, Soviet news reporter and international issue expert]

[Text] The Soviet Union's efforts to develop and fully normalize relations with China have increasingly gained support, particularly in socialist countries, and throughout the world. Socialist countries view this process as evidence which proves socialism's potential for creativity and safeguarding peace. At the same time, both are undertaking the same historical task of renewing socialism, and freeing the creative forces from their own people who are at a turning point in their development. The outcome of the task will decide the destiny of both countries. The countries of the world are, more than ever, intertwined with one another. Different and various aspects mark the countries of the world and finding unity amid the various aspects is sought. This is particularly true when dealing with the problems in socialist countries.

Comrade Gorbachev stressed in his speech in Havana, Cuba in early April: Problems may be similar, but every party tries to solve their own problems independently according to their own plans and specific conditions. Socialist countries draw international experience from differing attitudes which are free of dogmas. These experiences help us to progress more rapidly. The progression is, in a real sense, true progression, not regression, which is inseparable in the new modern political thought. In this space and computer age, we should resolutely abandon old dogmas. We should understand not only scientific and technological creations, but also ideological and spiritual concerns. Only by doing this can every country find the most appropriate path to its future. In this sense, exchanging experiences, whether positive or negative, is especially important for socialist countries.

It is no accident that Comrade Gorbachev pointed out in his speech in Cuba that the Soviet Communist Party, after carefully studying the fraternal parties' mode of action, is trying its best to consider their experiences in its work. Of course, we highly appreciate the interest shown and support given to changes which have occurred in our country. The new attitude toward internal problems is organically bounded with the future of foreign policy. The stress on the priority rights of mankind's common wealth, the pledge not to use force in solving problems, and the conciliatory attitude acceptable to both parties will not only guarantee the removal of the nuclear threat from this earth, but also will ensure economic safety and the principle of mediating regional conflicts. To a great degree, these principles represent similar attitudes between the Soviet Union and China on some major international issues. Let us cite a few examples—the Soviet Union and China have pledged not to use nuclear weapons first; both support the idea of demilitarizing space; both agree with the call of the United Nations on fairly mediating regional conflicts in the Middle East, Central America, and southern Africa. The similarity of attitudes does not limit our action; on the contrary, it allows more room for maneuver. Our two countries are capable of either coordinationg with each other or acting alone. We should not widen our differences over specific issues. What is important is sincerity, frankness and mutual trust, for these will provide a solid basis for full normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. The forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will undoubtedly promote the normalization of relations.

The Soviet side evaluates highly all steps taken in this regard. We know that the steps being taken by the Soviet side have also been evaluated highly by the Chinese side. This is the sign of the times.

PRC Delegation Visits Kamchatka To Discuss Trade

OW0505082889 Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Apr 89

[Text] For the first time, Kamchatka is establishing direct and official foreign trade contacts with the PRC. These contacts will be regional.

[Begin recording of studio interview given by an unidentified member of the Chinese delegation to an unidentified female correspondent. The words of the correspondent and the delegation member are interpreted by Soviet and Chinese interpreters, respectively]

[Correspondent] On behalf of our viewers, I would like to congratulate you on the occasion of your visit to our peninsula. I would also like to ask you what is the purpose of your visit to Kamchatka.

[Delegation member, speaking in Mandarin, this from Russian interpreter's translation] The purpose of our visit to Kamchatka Oblast is to hold talks on economic questions and development of economic relations with this region. Relations between Kamchatka Oblast and Mudanjiang City have been, in our view, relatively longstanding. They were established in June 1988. However, we have not had a chance to meet face to face and discuss our problems.

[Correspondent] Could you not tell us more specifically, in what sphere of economy will you cooperate with us?

[Delegation member] First, it will be in the sphere of barter trade.

[Correspondent] And what are we going to trade in?

[Delegation member] In my view, our Mudanjiang company can supply Kamchatka Oblast with the following goods: consumer goods for daily requirement, clothing, electronic equipment, and some mechanisms.

[Correspondent] And what do you expect to buy?

[Delegation member] We are primarily interested in timber, fish, and raw materials in general.

[Correspondent] What are your first impressions of Kamchatka?

[Delegation member] I believe I can say that my first acquaintance with Kamchatka was made through the plane window. The first thing I noted was the wonderful landscape rolling in front of my eyes. Despite the relatively cold climate, the beauty of nature and the openness of the people are precisely the things which make Kamchatka so attractive.

[Correspondent] There have not been any contacts between us for a long time. Can we hope that your visit and the events we expect to take place will develop into a long relationship?

[Delegation member] Personally, I can say that I shall use all possible efforts to make our cooperation a long-term one. Of course, similar aspirations will be required from the other side. I would also like to emphasize that yesterday morning I learned some news which made me happy—this was that our delegation is the first foreign commercial delegation to visit Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. This make us very happy. [end recording]

Joint Power Working Group Produces 'Useful Work'

OW0605135989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 9 Apr 89

[Commentator Sergeyev "article"]

[Text] Dear Friends, today we shall continue to introduce the activities of the Sino-Soviet Governmental Joint Commission and its Standing Committee and working groups in the fields of economic, trade, scientific, and technological cooperation. Today, we shall talk about the cooperation between Soviet and Chinese electric power workers under the coordination of the Sino-Soviet Power Working Group. The following is station commentator Sergeyev's article introducing cooperation in this respect:

The Sino-Soviet Power Working Group was founded not long ago, that is, in July 1988, but it has done a great deal of important and useful work. One of its functions is to supervise the implementation of the bilateral agreement on electric power development, to promptly adopt measures for realizing the agreement, and to draw up immediate and long-term cooperation plans. These plans involve a number of questions. For example, members of the group exchange experiences in the design, construction, and use of power projects in order to increase their technological knowledge; they exchange experiences in improving and modernizing old equipment in order to make better use of water resources; they also exchange experiences in training electric power engineers, technicians, workers, and cadres in order to upgrade their skills. The working group will also help scientists of the two countries to establish direct contacts and expand cooperation in the field of production and scientific research.

China plans to further develop its fuel and power industry in its Eighth 5-Year Plan from 1991 to 1995. China will give priority to building thermal power stations during this period. This will open vast areas for bilateral cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit. In particular, the general direction and scale of cooperation have been initially worked out to a large extent in the agreements already signed between the two countries. For example, the Sino-Soviet economic and technological cooperation agreement on building and renovating industrial projects in China, signed on 10 July 1985, states that the Soviet Union will provide technical assistance to China in building three thermal power stations, namely, the (Jixiang), (Yimin), and (Suidong) thermal power stations, with capacities of from 1 to 1.6 million kw. The Soviet side agrees to provide necessary assistance for the construction of these stations between 1990 to 1994. However, after the working group began to carefully study these projects, the Chinese side noted that China wanted to build more power stations, and the Soviet Union has also agreed to provide the generating units and other necessary equipment for (?two) additional power stations. The problems were settled in an unprecedentedly short period. The Soviet Union has begun providing equipment for the Nanjing and Yingkou thermal power stations this year. The cooperation plans worked out by the working group are comprehensive. For example, the plans also call for China to provide the equipment and materials for the construction of transformer stations and for high-pressure power transmission lines.

An important part of the work of the Sino-Soviet Power Working Group is to utilize the water resources in the Amur River Basin for the benefit of the people of the two countries. According to a report in the Chinese press, about 30 percent of China's production capacity could not be utilized in 1988, due to a shortage of electric power. This situation has extended to China's border regions. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has power stations in Amur and Khabarovsk, capable of generating large amounts of electricity. Under these circumstances, building a cross-border power transmission line constitutes the simplest and most natural solution for both sides. However, the thorough solution to all the problems lies in building a Sino-Soviet cooperative hydroelectric power station. Of course, it is not easy to realize this project because of its gigantic scale. However, the benefit will be comprehensive. The construction of such a project will ensure sufficient electric power for the relevant border areas. Moreover, it can also control the water level of the river in the spring flood season. Furthermore, unpredictable spring floods will only bring a great deal of inconvenience for the people living on both sides of the national border. A cooperative hydroelectric power station will be the nucleus of the plan to make comprehensive use of the water resources in the entire Amur River Basin. In addition, the hydroelectric power station will become another bridge linking the people of the two countries and the symbol of deepened goodwill and friendship between them.

First Direct USSR-PRC Phone Link Begins Operation

LD0605143689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] A permanent direct telephone link began operating today between the Soviet of and Chinese towns Blagoveshchensk and Heihe situated on opposite banks of the Amur. This is the first such cross border link beween the two states. For the time being, only 1 of its 30 channels is being used but in the near future direct telephone links will be set up in those establishments which are in constant contact with the Chinese side. These are trade and construction organizations, the Amur Tourist Association, and others.

Soviet Corporations To Take Part in Beijing Fair

OW0905121789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 20 Apr 89

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, the Soviet Union and many other countries will take part in the first Beijing International Trade Fair from 14 to 23 July. The most advanced technologies, machinery, and facilities will be exhibited at the fair, which will be sponsored by the China Council for Promotion of International Trade. The theme of the fair is to seek cooperation partners. We now invite Gaydayenko, secretary general of the Soviet Chamber of Industry and Commerce, to talk about Soviet corporations which will take part in the trade fair.

[Talk in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] Gaydayenko said: Taking part in international trade fairs is an effective way to establish firm cooperation and contacts with foreign partners. The Soviet Union is currently developing and improving its economic cooperation with foreign countries, and therefore such effective ways to establish firm cooperation and contacts with foreign partners is even more pressing. [passage omitted]

As we all know, China has also taken similar measures in its reform of the economic structure. Now, it is desirable that our two countries' corporations, with the authority of importing and exporting commodities, establish contacts and relations, based on mutual benefit. In order to develop such cooperation, our two countries have concluded legal agreements. In 1988, the third meeting of the Sino-Soviet Economic, Trade, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation Committee established a foundation for cooperation between our two countries. The agreement signed by both sides at the meeting has opened ways for direct economic and trade contracts between local areas of both countries, for the establishment of Sino-Soviet joint ventures, and for developing new cooperation projects.

The Beijing International Trade Fair is to seek cooperation partners and accomplish the above-mentioned goals and tasks. Therefore, the Soviet Chamber of Industry and Commerce has gladly accepted the invitation by the China Council for Promotion of International Trade to participate in the trade fair organized by the Chinese side. [passage omitted]

Gaydayenko said: Now, the Soviet Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade are preparing to hold an exhibition of China's economic achievements and trade in the Soviet Union and an exhibition of Soviet industry and trade in China. At the end of last year, the chairman of the Soviet Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the leader of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade held a meeting in Beijing. The meeting has become a new motive force for developing bilateral cooperation. [passage omitted]

Gaydayenko said: The Soviet Union will exhibit things which can be exported to China at the trade fair, including industrial facilities, machinery, technologies, and consumer goods for daily life. Twenty-seven Soviet organizations will exhibit their products at the fair. [passage omitted]

Gaydayenko said: According to the regulations, commodities can be sold during or after the exhibition. Therefore, it is hoped that our Chinese partners will sign beneficial contracts with us and come to visit the Soviet Pavilion at the First Beijing International Trade Fair.

Northeast Asia

No 'Prior Conditions' Acceptable for Tokyo Summit

*PM0705171989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 May 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev, at a Moscow news conference, devoted his speech to the results of Japanese Foreign Minister S. Uno's official visit to the Soviet Union, which ended on 5 May.

The talks, he said, passed in a businesslike and frank atmosphere and were substantive and useful. The desire to improve bilateral relations was confirmed, and the sides advocated activating the preparations for M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Japan. Speaking about the timing of the visit, the deputy minister pointed out that this will depend on the success of the preparatory work, which is headed by the two countries' foreign ministers.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman was asked whether the Soviet side is setting any conditions for M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Japan to take place. There must be no prior conditions on either side in the approach to the visit's planning, he replied. We are prepared to discuss any questions during this visit—that is, the agenda will be open. Our sole condition is that there be no conditions.

Replying to a question concerning the problem of the so-called "northern territories," I.A. Rogachev emphasized that during the talks the Soviet side expounded its position on this question in a well-reasoned manner, using materials from the Russian foreign policy archives. We believe that those islands were discovered and developed by Russians, and there is every reason to consider them primevally Russian, and now Soviet, territory. In this connection he pointed to the duplicity of Tokyo's approach to territorial problems, which Japan has not only with the USSR but also with other neighboring countries. The deputy minister recalled that in respect to disputes with China and South Korea over this question, Japan has managed to find a reasonable approach: The problems have been deferred, and cooperation is developing successfully.

Consultative Session on Japanese Relations Concludes

*LD0605224289 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1250 GMT 6 May 89*

[Text] Moscow, 6 May (TASS)—A broad spectrum of questions connected with the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and Soviet-Japanese relations were discussed for 3 days by the participants in the second consultative meeting of representatives of public and of scientific circles of the USSR and Japan, which ended in the Soviet capital today. The meeting was organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Japanese newspaper YOMIURI SHIMBUM, and the Japanese Association for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev informed those taking part in the meeting of the results of the talks in Moscow with Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno. He noted that identity or closeness of positions was found on many of the questions under discussion. The deputy minister said this does not mean that all disagreements have been solved. But dialogue is needed for that, too, in order to compare our points of view and bring them closer together.

Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, in his speech to the session, emphasized that the Soviet Union favors the development of good-neighborly and mutually advantageous relations with Japan founded on a balance of interests and not confrontation. He recalled the unilateral decision of the USSR with regard to eliminating its medium-range missiles in the Asian part of the country and also the reduction of Soviet Armed Forces there.

Ryutaro Hashimoto, deputy general secretary of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, highly praised these steps, the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the USSR's efforts to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. He characterized as fruitful the exchange of opinions that had taken place and which, in his words, had helped express the opinions of the two sides more deeply and to find points of agreement.

Today's meeting was certainly useful, said Academician Petr Fedoseyev, in an interview with a TASS correspondent. In spite of the differences in points of view on a number of the questions under discussion, there were also signs of the stands of the two sides drawing together. Therefore, it is perfectly natural that those attending the meeting expressed satisfaction with the results of their discussion, the academician remarked.

Communique Issued on DPRK Trade Union Visit

18070238 Moscow TRUD in Russian
23 Apr 89 p 4

[Unattributed communique: "In the Spirit of Friendship and Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] At the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], from 14 through 22 April 1989 a delegation from the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of [North] Korea (GFTUK) headed by the chairman of the GFTUK, Kim Pong-chu, was in Moscow on an official friendly visit.

The delegation learned about the work and life of the Soviet workers, the course of restructuring in all areas of social life, the implementation of the reform of economic and political life, and the participation of the trade unions in these processes. In addition to Moscow, the Korean guests visited Vladimir and Khabarovsk, they spent time in industrial and agricultural enterprises and cultural-educational institutions, and they had meetings and conversations with party, trade union, and economic leaders and workers. The guests were given a warm welcome and sincere hospitality everywhere.

Kim Pong-chu, chairman of the GFTUK, was received by A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Talks between the delegation of the GFTUK and the delegation of Soviet trade unions headed by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev were held in the spirit of fraternal friendship and comradely mutual understanding. During the course of the discussions the sides exchanged information about the activity and crucial tasks of their countries' trade unions, and discussed matters of further developing Soviet-Korean trade union cooperation and the international trade union movement.

The chairman of the GFTUK provided information on the course of the implementation of the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Workers Party of Korea and trade union activity for mobilizing workers to struggle to create a stable material and technical base for the complete victory of socialism, higher standards of living for the people, and the achievement of an independent peaceful unification of their homeland.

In discussing issues of bilateral cooperation, the delegations noted with satisfaction the favorable influence on the development of friendly relations between the trade unions of the two countries produced by the agreements reached at the meeting of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the DPRK, in 1986 in Moscow. They noted the further expansion and deepening of these relations on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The two sides discussed the course of the implementation of the agreement on the further development of cooperation between the trade unions of the USSR and the DPRK; the prospects for reinforcing interaction along the line of central, branch, and local trade union organizations, and labor collectives of enterprises and organizations under the jurisdiction of trade union centers; and the activation of relations between Soviet and Korean loggers working on the territory of the Soviet Far East.

In the exchange of opinions on crucial international problems they noted the positive strides in the international situation as a result of the unwavering efforts of the socialist countries and other peace-loving states. In this connection they emphasized the great significance of the initiatives of the Soviet Union directed toward creating an all-encompassing system of international security, the creation of a nonnuclear and nonviolent world, the prevention of the militarization of space, and the complete elimination of all types of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Special attention was devoted to the situation on the Korean peninsula. They emphasized the urgency of implementing the initiatives of the DPRK Government that envision arranging for inter-Korean dialogue, the transformation of the peninsula into a nonnuclear peace zone, the removal of U.S. troops from South Korea, and the unification of Korea on the basis of the creation of a confederative system. The two sides condemned the "Team-Spirit" exercises that threaten peace and stability in this section of the globe and also the arrest by South Korean authorities of the eminent social figure Mun Ik-hwan. They also noted the importance of holding in

Pyongyang the international trade union meeting for reducing tension on the Korean peninsula and developing mutual understanding and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Analyzing the results of the 41st session of the Bureau of the All-Chinese Federation of Trade Unions, the delegations of the Soviet and Korean trade unions expressed their confidence that the 12th World Congress of Trade Unions would contribute to the process of further dialogue and cooperation among trade unions of various orientations and international jurisdictions for purposes of coordinating efforts in the struggle for peace and disarmament, the defense of trade union rights and freedoms, and solving general human problems.

In the unanimous opinion of the sides, the visit of the GFTUK delegation will be another contribution to the consolidation and improvement of Soviet-Korean trade union cooperation and the strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the workers and peoples of the Soviet Union and the DPRK.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

'New Advance' Seen in Latest Cambodia Talks

PM0705142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent P. Tsvetov dispatch: "'Step Forward'"; for further reportage on the fourth meeting in Jakarta between Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, see the 4 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 24]

[Text] Vientiane, 5 May—The fourth meeting has taken place in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Kampuchea, and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, head of the emigre opposition. Another of the emigre leaders—Son Sann—participated in it, as he did in the third meeting.

Meetings between Hun Sen and Sihanouk attract special attention—it is obvious that much depends on them in untying the Cambodian knot. This time the sides touched on a wide range of issues and reached agreement on many of them. Hun Sen evaluated the talks held as "a step forward."

In my view the reason for this result in the talks lies, above all, in Phnom Penh's constructive, enterprising stance. The items on the agenda had, in fact, been worked out to a greater or lesser degree in advance. The sides discussed, for example, the amendments made to the Cambodian constitution on 30 April. As already reported, they provide for the country's name, flag, emblem, and anthem to be changed, for a state council to be created, for Buddhism to be proclaimed the national religion, and for private ownership and a mixed economy to be permitted. I will remind you that the opposition had demanded corresponding concessions on these issues. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party made compromises. It not only incurred no loss by that but also, on the contrary, was enabled to speak with the support of the broad Cambodian public. Sihanouk agreed in general with these changes and linked his return to the motherland with them following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal.

Phnom Penh has also taken preliminary steps to resolve certain international aspects of the settlement. These are connected, above all, with the joint statement by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the SRV on the full withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. As a result, the participants in the Jakarta meeting reached agreement on the question of ending all external military aid to the warring Cambodian groupings, creating an international control mechanism, and holding an international conference.

It is symptomatic that both sides voiced their concern at the problem of the "Khmers Rouges," who were to blame for the deaths of millions of their compatriots.

It was admitted at the end of the meeting that disagreements remain with regard to certain internal Cambodian aspects of the settlement. The opposition once again demanded the immediate dissolution of the government in Phnom Penh. Naturally, this was rejected. Hun Sen outlined the situation in which his government will be disbanded. This can happen after the Vietnamese troop withdrawal and as a result of the general election in which the new parliament will be elected. It will be for the parliament to form the new government. Then the present Council of Ministers headed by Hun Sen and also the emigre "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" will cease to exist.

The results of the fourth meeting between Hun Sen and Sihanouk may be regarded as a new advance along the path of realism.

Gerasimov Cited on Talks

BK0805082589 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese
0500 GMT 8 May 89

[Text] According to TASS, at a news conference in Moscow on 4 May, Soviet Foreign Ministry's Spokesman Gerasimov had the following comments on the recent meeting in Jakarta between Chairman Hun Sen and Prince Sihanouk and Mr Son Sann:

The Soviet Union is prepared to actively contribute to the process of resolving the Cambodia issue and join other countries concerned in providing guarantee for the agreements to be achieved in an international conference on Cambodia. The Soviet Union considers the program set forth by Chairman Hun Sen at the meeting and the new points in Prince Sihanouk's stance a major step forward. Despite the remaining difficulties on the road to an agreement, a matter of principle—namely, that the internal affairs of Cambodia must be decided by the Cambodians themselves—has been reaffirmed and further substantiated. The recent Jakarta meeting has shown that dialogue is not only the correct path but also a realistic one.

Expedient Settlement Possible

OW0805064589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] The situation in the Asia-Pacific region held an important place at the meeting between Gorbachev and Vietnamese leader Nguyen Van Linh in Moscow. Both sides pointed out that the times call for creating an atmosphere of trust and political stability. They stressed that a political settlement of regional issues is the way to create such an atmosphere. Station commentator Korolev writes the following in this connection:

The most acute issues in the Asia-Pacific region are Cambodia and the issues surrounding that country. Today we have every reason to say that improvement in the regional situation and mediation by the interested parties have had a very favorable effect on settling the Cambodia issue. A statement made by the three Indochinese countries is a case in point. The statement mainly says that Vietnam will withdraw all its troops from Cambodia before the end of September this year. This has made it possible to settle the Cambodia issue as soon as possible. Cambodia's internal affairs should be handled by the Cambodians themselves. In this regard, the meeting between Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government, and the leader of the Cambodian opposition is of special significance. The meeting between Hun Sen and Sihanouk in Jakarta has just ended. Son Sann, leader of another group in exile, also participated in the talks. The participants unanimously held that progress was made in the talks. For instance, they reached an agreement that foreign aid to various parties in Cambodia would be stopped following the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. It is not fortuitous to do things this way. This has ensured prevention of the Pol Pot regime, which slaughtered more than 3 million Cambodians, from staging a comeback. The Jakarta meeting participants agreed that a international conference should be held. One of the questions the international conference should discuss is how to institute an international system to supervise the implementation of agreements. Thus, the situation can be gradually improved through mutual trust and concession until the eventual settlement of the Cambodian issue. What is important here is that all the meeting participants held that no force should be used under any circumstances and that the only way out is serious dialogue and talks.

Another point should be noted: The countries concerned should make all possible efforts to help settle the Cambodian issue. If these countries hold identical views on this issue, it will ensure the settlement of the issue. The station commentator emphatically points out: Undoubtedly, it is important to improve Soviet-Chinese and Sino - Vietnamese relations, because the normalization of their relations not only accords with the interests of the Soviet, Chinese, and Vietnamese peoples, but is conducive to the cause of peace in the whole Asia - Pacific region.

Work Toward Consensus Noted

PM0505143989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[B. Vinogradov dispatch: "Toward National Consensus"]

[Text] Hanoi—Special hopes are being pinned on the fourth meeting between Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk, being held this time in Jakarta.

It should sum up the definite results of the great preparatory work done over the last few months on a peaceful settlement of the Cambodia problem. And these hopes can tentatively be said to have been justified. Hun Sen, representing the Cambodian Government, and Sihanouk, speaking as head of the Khmer opposition, have reached an important agreement recognizing the need to stop all outside military aid to the warring Cambodian sides following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal. They also agreed to begin setting up an international verification mechanism to shoulder the functions of observing the political settlement process.

It has been agreed that the structure of this mechanism will be finally worked out at an international conference, which may possibly be held in Paris this July. It is proposed that before the conference representatives of all four Cambodian sides will meet, also in Paris, to reach agreement on questions of an internal settlement—that is, on issues relating to a cease-fire, the organization of general elections, and the creation of a four-sided government.

Thus, many foreign observers are noting, a major step forward has been taken toward resolving the Cambodia problem and clear outlines have emerged for the overall ending of this protracted regional conflict. Showing good will and proposing compromises acceptable to all sides, the Cambodian Government has been vigorously and consistently pursuing a policy of national reconciliation. To that end the relevant changes have been made to the existing constitution, and the door is being opened to all Khmer emigres who want to return home and take part in creating a new society.

At the Jakarta meeting Sihanouk continued to insist on his demand that the Cambodian Government be dissolved as a precondition for his return to the country and his leadership of a national reconciliation council. However, Hun Sen firmly stated that the dissolution question can only be resolved on the basis of free general elections, after which a coalition cabinet will be set up. Otherwise conditions would be prepared for an armed invasion of Cambodia by Pol Pot troops, which are trying to restore their genocidal regime. The Cambodian Government today is the only realistic force capable of defending the Cambodian nation from new extermination. This reasonable argument was evidently accepted by Sihanouk, who promised to conduct "more active work" to achieve national consensus.

Argument Against Planned U.S. Arms to Cambodia

BK0805041489 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 7 May 89

[Station commentator Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Government should accommodate its foreign policy with general changes in Thailand and in the region. This view was expressed in a Thai newspaper commentary, during U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle's visit to Bangkok, regarding Washington's position to provide military aid to the Cambodian opposition. In this connection, our commentator Aleksey Nikolayev has the following comment:

In recent days, official representatives of the United States earnestly demanded support for the plan to supply armaments to the Sihanouk and Son Sann factions. In fact, in March this year, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker wrote to his Thai counterpart, Sitthi Sawetsila, informing Bangkok about this plan. Afterward, the chairman of the House Subcommittee on Asia and Pacific Affairs, Stephen Solarz, visited Bangkok on a fact-finding mission to find out Thai leaders' position on the issue and, according to the Thai newspaper THE NATION, Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan and his Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila reluctantly accepted the U.S. envoy's proposal. At his meeting with the U.S. representative, the Thai prime minister noted that the provision of armaments to the Cambodian opposition could possibly lengthen the protracted conflict in Cambodia.

Moreover, the U.S. plan to give military aid to the Cambodian opposing parties was not endorsed at the just-ended talks in Bangkok between U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle and Thai leaders. Instead, the Thai prime minister called on all the countries to intensify their efforts to expedite the Cambodian settlement. Chatchai Chunhawan pointed out that Thailand always upholds the policy of expanding peaceful cooperation with its neighboring states.

It is worth noting that opposition to the policy of settling the Cambodian problem by military means being instigated by the United States was also expressed in Jakarta, which the U.S. Vice President also visited. According to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, the supply of new armaments to the Cambodian opposition would ultimately not help solve the Cambodian conflict. Lately, many countries, which used to provide armaments to the opposing Cambodian parties, have also realized this. As a matter of fact, at a press conference given on 3 May in Jakarta, Norodom Sihanouk disclosed that French military aid to his group was canceled definitively.

The informal meetings on Cambodia in Jakarta, the decision to complete the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia by the end of this September, and the modest progress made at the recent meeting between Cambodian leader Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk are the clear evidence from which we can construe that the Cambodian conflict is moving toward a definitive settlement. Through these developments, according to Bangkok's daily THE NATION, the possibility envisaged by Washington to give military aid to the Cambodian opposition can only bring about negative result. This view is irrefutably correct.

Thailand Harbors Hopes for Cambodia Settlement

PM0505122189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[B. Chekhonin article: "On The Path to Mutual Understanding: Settlement Prospects in Cambodia"]

[Text] Bangkok—A note of optimism is being sounded with renewed force in the capital of Thailand or the "frontline state" as its leaders often call it. "We have every reason for saying," Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan has stated, "that a political settlement in Cambodia is not far off."

Chatchai Chunhawan does indeed have good reason for harboring such hopes. The main obstacle to a political settlement has been removed: It has been stated that the Vietnamese volunteers will withdraw from Cambodia ahead of schedule and in full by next September and that an international control mechanism will be set up.

That announcement was just one recent event; there were others before it. As always the most important events were initiated by Hanoi and Phnom Penh. The proposal was put to the three groupings, including the Khmers Rouges, that they come to the negotiating table to determine the country's future on the basis of the people's national interests. Many people in Bangkok saw this as a bold step. The sovereign government, enjoying the full support of the people and controlling the whole country, had agreed not only to talks but also to invite Prince Sihanouk to a leading post and the creation, after elections, of a new cabinet in which all groupings who had won the people's trust could participate.

The viewpoint of Thailand and the ASEAN countries is that the conflict must be settled in the near future. Combat actions on the border have cost Bangkok many lives, devastated villages, and caused other economic damage. The primary source of Western financial and military aid to the "frontline state" has already begun to dry up. However, the war remains an insuperable obstacle to a sharp increase in trade with the Indochinese countries which, in conditions of protectionism, could give an additional new incentive to the development of the export-led Thai economy.

However, life is more complex than that. Apart from the interests of the "frontline state" itself, there are also the interests of its allies. There is justified concern here at Washington's attempts to increase its aid to the Khmer opposition from $5 million to $7 million a year. And that at a time when there should be a general renunciation of support for the rival groups. Or what about the argument used by some congressmen that the time has come to supply weapons to Sihanouk and Son Sann? Thailand rightly sees these actions as an attempt by the Washington administration to prolong the Cambodian conflict to benefit its own strategic interests and the policy of expanding its military presence in Asia and the Pacific.

Recently the press here carried a report that more than 90 U.S. Congressmen had protested against the genocide in Pol Pot's camps. But there is another report than I am more familiar with. I have on my desk the text of a letter to Prince Sihanouk, leader of the Khmer coalition; Son Sann, its premier; and Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government. It is signed by 1,000 former Pol Pot prisoners who miraculously managed to survive. Fate has carried them to different lands now. But the past years and events have not erased their common memory—the nightmare of the Pol Pot genocide and the fear that the bloody regime will again be imposed on the Cambodian people.

"We are not addressing Pol Pot or Khieu Samphan," the prisoners' message says. "How can we write to the Khmers Rouges, who have the murder of at least 1 million Cambodians on their consciences. The tiger does not change his stripes. Just as Pol Pot's supporters do not change, either. They are continuing their bloody crimes on Thailand's territory."

"We are afraid," the authors go on to note, "that when the Vietnamese troops withdraw from Cambodia the Khmer Rouge gangs will once more terrorize the countryside and abduct or kill their opponents. It is not impossible that the international community will support those who want to impose the Khmer Rouge regime on the Cambodian people again. That is why we are appealing to you, the political leaders who understand the Cambodians' sufferings well, to prevent this. We believe that the Khmer Rouge leaders must be denied a political role in the future Cambodia. They should be tried by the international court for the crimes they have committed."

It is a disturbing document which appeals to the conscience of the foreign politicians who are ready to make use of the Pol Pot criminals—a 40,000 army of bandits armed to the teeth—for their own ends. The press here reports constantly on the latest cases of robbery, attacks, and murders committed by the Khmers Rouges in the villages of Thailand. They also have covert weapons trafficking and speculation in food and equipment among their achievements. The leaders of the Pol Pot subunits are even making a fortune from mining precious stones on Kampuchean territory near the border.

As for Thailand, realistic attitudes are becoming increasingly prevalent here. Recently your correspondent attended a seminar on the Chatchai Chunhawan government's Indochina policy at Chulalongkor university, the country's oldest educational institution. Professor Sukumpan Paripat [name as published], a prominent political scientist and adviser to the prime minister, put forward his own suggestion for a Cambodian settlement. He sees the solution to the situation after the Vietnamese troop withdrawal in the creation of a Cambodian government headed by Prince Sihanouk with the decisive role played by members of the present cabinet. The academic believes that Pol Pot's men cannot be included in such a government.

We are not going to comment on how realistic this suggestion is. Let the Khmers themselves determine Cambodia's fate and the composition and form of its government. But the idea of the rapid solution of the Cambodian conflict expressed by the eminent academic is in tune with reality and the present Thai cabinet's new Indochina policy which is aimed at transforming this region from a battlefield into a zone of broad and mutually beneficial trade.

Karpov Receives Australian Arms Official

PM0805121389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 5 May USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.P. Karpov received K. Dzhouns [name as published], Australian first assistant foreign minister and chief of the Australian Foreign Ministry disarmament, defense, and nuclear weapons department. During the talk there was an examination of questions connected with Australia's proposal to hold an international conference of representatives of government and industry with a view to pooling efforts for the speediest conclusion of an all-embracing convention on banning chemical weapons.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Envoy, Bessmertnykh View Upcoming Visit

LD0605164289 Tehran IRNA in English 1636 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Teheran, May 6, IRNA—The upcoming visit of the Iranian Majlis speaker to the Soviet Union as well as matters of mutual interest were discussed in a meeting between Iranian Ambassador Naser Heirani-Nobari and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmernykh in Moscow today.

During the two-hour meeting the two sides reviewed matters relevant to the meeting of Hojjat ol-Eslam Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani with President Mikhail Gorbachev.

They also exchanged views on some regional and international issues.

Najibullah Views Ramadan Cease-Fire Response

PM0805135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Najibullah Television Address"]

[Text] Kabul, May 6—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan has gone on national television to address his fellow countrymen on the occasion of the Muslim festival of Id al-Fitr, which began today.

The Afghan Government, the address says, in seeking to achieve a peaceful political settlement to the Afghan conflict, declared that the holy month of Ramadan be a month of peace and then announced a cease-fire. Some opposition formations' field commanders, seeing no sense in prolonging the bloodshed and fratricidal war, have refrained from combat operations, thereby showing respect for Islam. However, intransigent groupings led by the Peshawar "alliance of seven" not only gave no positive answer to the Afghan leadership's peace-loving proposals but even stepped up their combat operations in a number of Afghan regions.

Some time ago, Najibullah continued, we appealed to the commanders of the opposition formations operating within the country to enter into talks and establish contact with representatives of the authorities so as to restore peace and security on Afghan soil. A considerable number of them responded to this proposal affirmatively. The Afghan Government in turn noted the desire of a certain number of opposition detachments' leaders for peace and expressed a readiness to provide them and their families material support and food aid. That aid is already being distributed.

In conclusion, the Afghan president again urged the opposition to resolve all disputes by means of talks on the basis of a broad, nationwide dialogue.

Afghan Opposition in Iran, Pakistan Sign Accord

PM0505141589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report from a roundup of TASS, REUTER, and AFP dispatches: "Afghan Opposition in Search of Consolidation"]

[Text] A representative of the Shi'ite groupings of the Afghan opposition based in Iran has announced that a provisional agreement has been signed with the mujahidin "Seven-Party Alliance" based in Pakistan. It contains an appeal "to preserve national unity and to continue the armed struggle until the Kabul regime falls." The document makes provisions for coordinating efforts to form the future government of Afghanistan.

Afghan Official on PDPA's Prospects

18070246 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 17, 28 Apr-5 May 89 p 6

[Interview with Najmoddin Kawiani, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and chief of the PDPA Central Committee International Department, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent D. Makarov: "Afghanistan After Us"; date, place not given]

[Text]**More than 2 months have passed since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Despite the predictions of many Western experts, Kabul did not fall "in a matter of days" under the blows of the mujahidin, as was repeatedly written, and indeed none of the major Afghan cities has fallen, including Jalalabad, despite numerous attacks by combined opposition forces. Nevertheless, the situation in Afghanistan remains complex. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent D. Makarov discusses this with Najmoddin Kawiani, member of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] Central Committee Politburo and chief of the PDPA Central Committee International Department.**

[Kawiani] Until 15 February the opposition was acting against the central government in Kabul with two slogans: "Islam is in danger" and "End the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops." The slogan "Islam is in danger" has never been picked up and is not being picked up because the government is building mosques while the dushmans are destroying them. As for the second slogan, it now has no meaning. The people are tired of the 8 years of bloodletting, the more so since there are no longer any infidels—Russians—against whom to wage a "jihad," meaning a holy war.

Nevertheless, the dushmans are claiming that they will continue the war until the Kabul regime falls and a new government is established. However, this new slogan allows for no consolidation of the opposition forces.

Few people know that a first transitional government in Peshawar was set up 10 months ago, headed by M. Mohammad Sharq. During all these months no one has recognized it, so it has been ingloriously dissolved. Now a new government has been formed with S. Mojaddedi as president and A.R. Sayyaf as prime minister.

For 2 weeks they have been holding intensive talks and meetings and have discussed and made deals about the posts to be occupied, but the opposition has been unable to unite. No representative of the "eight"—the eight Shi'ite organizations based in Iran—has been included in the Peshawar government, nor are represented the commanders of the partisan detachments right there in Afghanistan who are fighting the government troops.

[Makarov] Is there a longstanding contradiction between the military commanders and the "pen-pushers in the rear"?

[Kawiani] To some extent, yes. The so-called field commanders of the partisan detachments complain that people are trying to command them from abroad who during all the years of the civil war have never even been in Afghanistan, and that these people's families are also living in luxury in the United States, Italy, and England.

[Makarov] Is a real unification of the opposition organizations in an "alliance of the seven" possible in order to overthrow the Kabul regime?

[Kawiani] I think that that is unrealistic. And not only because a different country stands behind each of them—Pakistan, the United States, Saudi Arabia—each of then trying to impose its own will on the opposition. Seven major nationalities live in Afghanistan, and they all have their own special features. Each of the opposition organizations represents the interests of only one nationality or religious group.

Attempts to unite the "seven" have been made repeatedly by Western governments. However, none of the opposition organizations, of either the "seven" or the "eight," enjoy influence throughout Afghanistan, even though each of them is certainly trying to place its own leader in the post of head of state. A number of the field commanders also aspire to that post, while at the same time many of them have refused to have dealings with the "seven." It is this entire block of contradictions that is also preventing the opposition from unifying.

[Makarov] It is well known, however, that the split into the Parcham and Khalq factions in the ranks of the PDPA has still not been completely healed. Is not the withdrawal of Soviet troops affecting the centrifugal forces in the party and state?

[Kawiani] The PDPA is operating under the conditions of a backward Eastern country where the tribal system is still preserved in some places and where the working class is on the order of 60,000-strong or so out of a total population of more than 20 million. Under these conditions it has been difficult for our party, which is Marxist in terms of its ideology, to maintain unity. It has twice been split, the last time 10 years ago, and the consequences of that split were until recently still tangible.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has helped all members of the party to rally under the slogan of defending their power. If the present government falls the party will be physically destroyed. Therefore, each member of the party understands that unity is as necessary as the air we that breathe. Moreover, the PDPA now has growing support from the people, first and foremost the urban population.

[Makarov] How do you explain this?

[Kawiani] Several months ago rebel detachments seized the city of Konduz for 3 days. After government troops succeeded in driving them out you simply would not have recognized the city: Homes and stores had been looted and the population subjected to violence and humiliation. The mujahidin went into the city not as the liberators they sought to portray themselves as, but rather as regular marauders with automatic weapons in hand and sacks to carry off what they took. The lesson of Konduz was not lost on the people, and this is precisely why the resistance is now so desperate in Jalalabad.

[Makarov] That is, you want to say that it is first and foremost the urban population that supports the PDPA?

[Kawiani] I think that is the case. To be candid, not even all the urban population supports the PDPA, but the dushmans as an alternative are even less acceptable. The opposition embodies all the dark forces and all the obscurantism that are out of touch with modern life. For example, under the sign of Islam, the opposition is working against the spread of television in the country, and against women working and studying. But in Kabul alone 260,000 girls are studying, girls whose parents want them to continue doing this. One of the opposition leaders, Gulboddin Hikmatyar, recently stated that when Kabul is taken women will again be removed from their studies and public activities.

But the PDPA is, if you like, the only all-Afghan organization whose ranks contain representatives of all the nationalities. Its numerical strength is 200,000. Our party has a 24-year history, and for 10 of those years it has been in power. During these years we have made many serious mistakes, and 40,000 members of the PDPA have paid for this with their lives, but all mistakes are now being subjected to merciless analysis.

They are now holding their breath in the countryside to see whether or not the central authorities will prevail. If we hold out for another 2 or 3 months the countryside will understand that the cities can get by without them, but that the countryside cannot get by for long without the cities and without barter.

Afghan General Cited on Defense of Jalalabad

PM0805131489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[Special correspondent O. Ignatyev report: "The Defenders of Jalalabad Maintain the Defense"]

[Text] Kabul, 4 May—The "transitional government" formed by the opposition has "reached a military and political impasse. Militarily, the impasse lies in the failure of the offensive at Jalalabad; it is acknowledged that it was a mistake to begin the offensive, and the view that Jalalabad will fall is far removed from reality." That is a quotation from a recent Voice of America broadcast in Dari.

One can agree with the American journalist who transmitted from Peshawar that interpretation of the situation that has taken shape at Jalalabad. On 6 May it will be exactly 2 months since the start of the offensive by antigovernment forces on that ancient Afghan city. On the very first day of the battle for Jalalabad the so-called "transitional government" declared that the muhajidin will seize the city in a few days. Then the planned time scale was repeatedly "amended." And Jalalabad stood firm. Jalalabad is fighting.

What is the present situation in and around the besieged city?

I put that question to Major General Muhammad Ismail, deputy chief of the operations directorate of the Afghan Armed Forces General Staaf, who has just returned from Jalalabad.

"Every day between 3,000 and 5,000 rocket shells fall on Jalalabad," General Ismail said. "During the siege more than 500 civilians have died. The number of wounded greatly exceeds that figure. The civilian hospital is full to overflowing with the wounded—women, children, old people. Many of the civilian victims are in the army hospital, and those with minor injuries are at the medical center attached to the 1st Army Corps.

More than 200 buildings have been destroyed or badly damaged, including Jalalabad University, the archeological museum, a number of mosques, and other purely peaceful buidlings of great historical value. Rocket shells and artillery shells have destroyed hundreds of adobe houses, in which the greater part of the city's population live.

The enemy has concentrated between 32,000 and 35,000 troops around Jalalabad, armed with some 260 artillery pieces, about 500 mortars, and many hundreds of rocket launchers, Muhammad Ismail continued. It should be noted, the general said, that the number of foreign mercenaries and foreign military advisers has recently increased considerably, since more and more of the field commanders of armed opposition detachments are refusing to participate in the combat operations at Jalalabad.

The city's defenders are successfully maintaining the defense, receiving regular reinforcements. Major General Ismail said that both arms and food are reaching the city. Food products dispatched to Jalalabad—flour, fat, and sugar—are delivered by motor transport. For instance, on 2 May another column of 200 trucks arrived there.

The military dispatches published in Kabul are laconic. For instance, a report transmitted by the capital's radio said that "government troops struck a retaliatory blow against rebel positions near Jalalabad the day before yesterday." On that day, Muhammad Ismail explains, the 64th regiment of volunteers—we still call it "Rasud's regiment" after the commanding officer—not only rebuffed an enemy offensive, but counterattacked with artillery support.

That is the situation in Jalalabad, whose defenders are standing firm in the continuing battle.

Envoy Says Peace Possible If Afghans 'Left Alone'

PM0805135289 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 6 May 89 p 10

[Report on undated interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov by Robert Fox: "Afghan Peace 'Is in Sight'"]

[TEXT] Kabul—A peaceful settlement for Afghanistan could be in sight by the end of the summer, according to Mr Yuliy Vorontsov, a deputy Soviet Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Kabul.

But the Western powers and sponsors of the Mujahidin guerillas, such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, must be prepared to give it a chance.

Once regarded as the most powerful figure in this city, as awesome as any Roman proconsul, Mr Vorontsov is now very publicly backing out of the limelight, "to let the Afghans manage things for themselves", as he puts it.

"The offensives and attacks we are now seeing are promoted from the outside. If the Afghans were really left alone, they would agree to peace," he suggests.

"Agree in a jiffy", he adds to exhibit his superb and almost accentless English.

The whole conversation is an effortless exercise by one of the international grandmasters of diplomacy, and one very much in the Gorbachev mould.

Though ostensibly in the back seat, Mr Vorontsov is not idling away the last days of spring in Kabul, but working on plans that will start serious discussions between all interested parties to halt the war.

Most immediately in prospect is a round of shuttle diplomacy conducted by Mr Benon Sevan, the UN Secretary-General's special representative, at present head of the organisation's Good Offices Mission for Afghanistan and Pakistan, Ungomap.

Mr Vorontsov wants the role of the mission, which was set up to monitor the Geneva accords signed last year, much enhanced. The aim of the new diplomatic initiative will be to' introduce the notion of "symmetry".

Under this, Washington and Moscow would cut arms supplies to their clients in the war, the Mujahidin and the Kabul regime.

It also might work towards an internal peace settlement for Afghanistan. Bot these notions were largely absent from the original accords.

Mr Vorontsov says the government of President Najibullah is already gaining ground in talks with guerrilla commanders inside the country.

"You'd be surprised who's talking already. Some very big names are involved. Now they (the regime) are strong and very willing to discuss. All the 15 parties of the Mujahidin have to do is put another chair at the conference—but of course they won't."

He said the success of Afghan government forces in the field had surprised many of his Soviet colleagues, but not him in the slightest.

"The spirit of our presence here was entirely wrong," is his blunt confession. "We were always doing things for them our way, expecting them to just stand by and watch. I was sure they were able to stand their ground."

But the test in the field has been horrific in the two-month battle at Jalalabad.

"The fire-power displayed there is several times greater than at Stalingrad.

"Casualties have been very high and the weapons we have been supplying very unpleasant—state of the art for dealing with ground positions. And they can strike well below ground, as well."

At least 10,000 have died at Jalalabad, according to Soviet intelligence. Last week they report, nearly 2,400 guerrillas were killed or injured. The casualties on the regime's side are said to be more than 4,000, with more casualties among the civilian inhabitants.

"The government has already passed the main test," claims Mr Vorontsov, "For whatever they have, they hold.

"Militarily the Mujahidin are not going to win, but they might succeed in gaining a place in government."

The big test will be the evolution of Dr Najibullah's People's Democratic party.

In the ambassador's perception the next two months are crucial. If the present stalemate continues he believes president Bush will be prepared to move on peace negotiations.

"He's started off weak and afraid of the Right in Congress but at the end of the summer he'll be firmer in the saddle.

Yesterday a spokesman for the Najibullah regime in Kabul denied that the Afghan armed forces had fired a Scud rocket at a refugee camp 50 miles inside the Pakistan border, killing three Afghan refugees.

Prospects for Mideast Peace Conference Noted

LD0505141489 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The Middle East situation has considerably changed in the past few days. The U.N. Security Council has decided to resume deliberations on the issue of the situation in that region.

The reason for that is not only that the key body of the international organization is concerned over Israel's continuing repressions on the occupied Arab lands, but also because there have emerged real chances for the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East.

The hopes that the long-awaited peace will finally prevail in the region ahve become more realistic after the official visit to France by PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat.

His repudiation of provisions in the Palestine National Charter that jeopardize the existence of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation's readiness to do everything for peaceful relations between the future Palestinian state and Israel have triggered off a powerful chain reaction.

Returning the question of Palestine to the Security Council agenda is one of the elements of that reaction. More over, even Britain's Conservative government, which showed no enthusiasm in Middle East affairs lately, has started to display interest in the region: London has called on the Security Council to convene a closed-door meeting with the participation of PLO and Israeli representatives.

The British press reports that the results of 'Arafat visit to France have cleared the way for his meeting with British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe.

For its part, the French Government has apparently decided not to abate efforts in favour of convening an international conference on the Middle East as soon as possible.

The forthcoming trip by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas to Israel where he intends to discuss questions of preparing the conference with the Israeli leadership can also be considered to be one of the direct consequences of the 'Arafat visit.

No doubt, the decision by King Hasan of Morocco to step up the diplomatic campaign with a view to convening an emergency Arab summit in Rabat in the second half of May this year to discuss the Palestinian issue has been apparently prompted by the results of 'Arafat's trip to France.

The king wants that meeting to support and approve the PLO leader' peace strategy.

In other words, 'Arafat's new stance vis-a-vis Israel has resulted in changes in the alignment of forces in the Middle East. It is clear that following the Paris negotiations, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir will find it even more difficult to come up with arguments to justify his stubborn unwillingness to recognise the PLO and conduct talks with it, including within the framework of an international conference.

The PLO leader deprived the Israeli leadership of their last trump card by declaring that a Palestinian delegation would be ready to join a united Arab delegation which could be led by Egypt.

There are no doubts that the results of the 'Arafat visit to France have become a concrete step towards a lasting and fair peace in the Middle East. And this contribution, as all signs indicate, has been appreciated throughout the world.

Syria's Al-Asad Sends Message of Thanks

PM0405140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Syrian President H. al-Asad undated message of thanks for Evacuation Day congratulations]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

I am deeply grateful, dear comrades, for your congratulations on the Day of the Evacuation of Foreign Forces from the Syrian Arab Republic.

Over the years since our country's declaration of independence and the evacuation of the colonialists' forces from its territory, relations between Syria and the Soviet Union have developed greatly. Spheres of cooperation between our countries have expanded in particular since the signing of the treaty of friendship and cooperation in 1980.

We value both the developing relations of cooperation between Syria and the Soviet Union and the USSR's firm stand in support of our struggle for the liberation of Arab territories occupied by Israel and to achieve a just peace in our region.

We wish you, dear comrades, health and happiness, and we wish the friendly Soviet people great successes and prosperity.

[Signed] Hafiz al-Asad

Sub-Saharan Africa

Delegate to Cape Town Namibia Talks Cited

LD0305134189 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 3 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 3 (TASS)—A Soviet official described as a "positive factor" the presence of the joint commission monitoring the settlement in South-Western Africa. Vyacheslav Ustinov, who led the Soviet delegation at the talks in Cape Town, told a news briefing here today that "this allows the commission to work in a closer contact with the UN [United Nations]."

Both members and observers of the commission agreed that the results of its meeting in Cape Town could be described as rather satisfactory. "If everything that was discussed is strictly implemented the process of decolonization in Namibia will be continued."

At the same time, the head of the Soviet delegation, which had an observer status, said that one cannot rule out any surprises, including unpleasant ones, which can hamper this process. "However," he stressed, "given the responsibility, political realism, strict compliance with Resolution 435 and other decisions of the U.N. Security Council on Namibia, as well as other accords, all sorts of obstacles could be removed."

Vyacheslav Ustinov made a point of emphasizing that the "the Soviet delegation went to Cape Town with the only goal of attending the meeting of the joint commission and discussing all problems related to this issue."

General Lizichev Departs for Congo, Algeria

PM0505114189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On Working Visit"]

[Text] On 3 May Army General A.D. Lizichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, left Moscow for a working visit to Brazzaville and Algiers at the invitation of the leadership of the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of the Congo and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

At the airport he was seen off by Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other officials.

The following were among the send-off party: D. Bouhouayi, People's Republic of the Congo ambassador to the USSR; R. Souibes, Algerian charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR; Colonel J.M. Okemba, military, air, and naval attache to the People's Republic of the Congo Embassy in the USSR; and Lieutenant Colonel A. Belkahla, defense attache at the Algerian Embassy in the USSR.

Arrives in Brazzaville 4 May

LD0405140789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1338 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Brazzaville. 4 May (TASS)—Army General A. D. Lizichev, head of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, today arrived here on a visit.

He was met at the airport by Colonel N. Dabera, secretary of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labor and head of the Main Political Directorate of the Congolese National People's Army.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD0705133289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 May (TASS)—Nathan Shamuyarira, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Zimbabwe, arrived in Moscow today on a short working visit.

He was met at the airport by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin and other officials. The welcoming party included Misheck D. Sibanda, ambassador of the Republic of Zimbabwe to the USSR.

Received by Shevardnadze

LD0705191889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 7 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 May (TASS)—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, met with Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwean minister of foreign affairs, who is in Moscow en route from Islamabad. He is traveling in his capacity as the representative of Robert Mugabe, chairman of the Nonaligned Movement and president of Zimbabwe.

Nathan Shamuyarira stressed that his country and the Nonaligned Movement are concerned by the continuing bloodshed in Afghanistan, and that they advocate a political solution to the problem on the basis of the strict observance of the Geneva accords and of an accord being reached among the Afghans themselves. It was from this visual angle that he held talks in Pakistan.

Matters relating to an Afghan settlement, the Zimbabwean minister remarked, will figure prominently at the upcoming session of the Nonaligned Movement Coordination Bureau in Harare.

It was emphasized on the Soviet side that the situation in Afghanistan has recently become aggravated by the growing interference by Pakistan and by certain other forces in internal Afghan affairs. At hand is a brazen violation of international obligations under conditions in which the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan have honestly and fully honored their part of the Geneva accords. The international community and the Nonaligned Movement should have their say and not tolerate the creation of a dangerous precedent of a scornful attitude toward international treaties in an international situation that is full of renewal. There is no other possible solution for Afghanistan. The only acceptable way out is national reconciliation, in whose interests the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan is indeed acting.

Eduard Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union highly assesses the efforts of President Robert Mugabe, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, for halting the war in Afghanistan, and that the USSR considers Nathan Shamuyarira's mission to be highly useful and timely.

Envoy on Meeting With Burkina Faso's Compaore

AB0405214289 Ouagadougou Domestic Service in French 1900 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] This morning the head of state, Captain Blaise Compaore, received the Soviet ambassador to our country. The two men discussed three major issues, namely, the Organization for Popular Democracy-Labor Movement in our country, the Namibia situation, and the Afghan problem.

[Begin Yevgeniy Korendyasov recording] We exchanged views, information, and opinions on national and international lives of our respective countries. I had the privilege and honor to be briefed by the leader of the supreme leadership of Burkina Faso on the latest development of the unified movement in your country, notably the creation of an Organization for Popular Democracy-Labor Movement, which has the mission of giving fresh impetus to the Burkinabe people's march, their struggle for economic, social, and cultural progress and for the building of a society based on the principles of social justice and respect for workers' interests. Also the situations in Namibia and Afghanistan were discussed. We condemned the base acts of provocation by South Africa extremists who are trying to torpedo the process of transition to Namibian independence, and we noted that the participation of African leaders and the OAU is indispensable to ensure the proper transition to independence in Namibia. We spoke about the need to stop external interference in Afghan domestic affairs and to end the bloodbath there, which is quite unnecessary, in order to find a solution based on national reconciliation. [end recording]

East Europe

Ogarkov, GDR Envoy Mark Germany's Liberation

LD0405184589 Moscow TASS in English 1749 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—"May 1944 opened a new page in German history and in the history of Europe on the whole. For people of the GDR this date has become the symbol of peace, freedom and new life," Soviet Marshal Nikolay Ogarkov told a meeting in Moscow today marking the 44th anniversary of the liberation of German people from fascism.

The decades that have passed since the foundation of the first socialist state on German soil provide graphic proof that the CPSU and the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], the peoples of the Soviet Union and the GDR maintain relations of unbreakable friendship and all-round cooperation, the speaker continued. The 1975 treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual aid lays down firm foundation for further developing fruitful relations between them.

The Soviet Union together with the GDR and other socialist states undertakes important steps to reduce military confrontation, to build security and trust, the marshal continued. These considerations underlined the recent Soviet proposals on unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces and arms, as well as on the withdrawal of a part of Soviet troops from the territory of allies, including the GDR.

GDR's Ambassador to the Soviet Union Gerd Koenig stressed that the CPSU and the SED, the Soviet Union and the GDR closely cooperate on the world arena. The GDR fully supports the Soviet Union's large-scale peace initiatives. It will continue to favour the creation in central Europe of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons. The GDR, like other socialist states, is interested in the earliest beginning of talks aimed at reducing tactical nuclear weapons, the ambassador said.

Silayev Attends Ceremonial Meeting

PM0805131689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Excerpts] A ceremonial meeting of representatives of the capital's working people was held in Moscow on 4 May to mark the 44th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism. [passage omitted]

G.M. Voskanyan, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of ministries and departments, military leaders, and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations took part in the meeting.

Greetings Sent to GDR Leaders

PM0905103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[USSR leadership organs' anniversary greetings message to GDR leaders Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

To Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers
Dear Comrades!

On the 44th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism we send you, the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and all citizens of the GDR, cordial congratulations and friendly greetings.

A new era began with the great victory over Hitlerite fascism. The working people on German soil between the Elbe and the Oder made a historic choice in favor of democracy and socialism. The worker-peasant republic they created under the leadership of the SED embodied the aspirations of many generations of progressive German thinkers and revolutionaries who had fought for the political and social liberation of the working people.

People in the Soviet Union highly value the relations of fraternal friendship, international solidarity, and mutually beneficial cooperation that firmly link the CPSU and the SED and our countries' peoples. In resolving the tasks of the current important phase of socialist building in accordance with national priorities, the USSR and the GDR are proceeding toward the same goal and are guided by common ideals. They are seeking to reveal more fully and utilize more effectively the mighty potential of bilateral cooperation, in the interest of socialism and of establishing the new political thinking in international affairs.

We wish you, dear comrades, the communists, and all the citizens of the GDR great successes in implementing the directives of the 11th SED Congress, peace, happiness, and well-being.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee
USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
USSR Council of Ministers

CSSR Embassy News Conference on Liberation Day

PM0505124689 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Our correspondent report: "News Conference at the Czechoslovak Embassy"]

[Text] A news conference marking the 44th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army took place on 3 May at the CSSR Embassy.

J. Lapka, counselor at the embassy, opened the news conference.

Embassy Counselor-Envoy P. Kubasek said in his speech to the journalists that the peoples of Czechoslovakia express their fraternal gratitude to the peoples of the Soviet Union and deeply honor the memory of the Soviet fighters who fell in the struggle for their liberation. He particularly emphasized the idea that today the working people of the CSSR and the USSR are actively participating in the process of profound transformations taking place in all areas of our lives, and that they together with the other socialist countries support the elimination of the military danger in Europe and peace throughout the world.

Journalists' questions were then answered. In particular, Colonel R. Dolecek, deputy Army and Air Force attache at the CSSR Embassy to the USSR, discussed the withdrawal of Soviet troop units from Czechoslovak territory which has already begun and the future use of military facilities that are accordingly being vacated.

V.P. Nikonov Continues Visit to Hungary

Received by General Secretary Grosz

PM0805152289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting in Budapest"]

[Text] Budapest, 4 May—K. Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Central Committee, met here today with V.P. Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Hungary on a working visit.

The Hungarian leader gave a briefing on the situation in the country and the MSZMP's activity in implementing large-scale political and economic reforms in the interest of renewing socialism and deepening its democratic character. Hungarian communists are following with great attention the transformations in the Soviet Union, and they support the policy of restructuring, whose significance goes far beyond the bounds of the Soviet land.

V.P. Nikonov spoke of the most important areas of activity by the Soviet Communists' party and gave a detailed briefing on the results of the CPSU Central Committee March and April plenums as well as the USSR people's deputies elections. The importance of further developing cooperation between the CPSU and the MSZMP and our countries and peoples and raising it to a new level was emphasized. A reliable basis for this is provided by the similarity of approaches to the resolution of questions of principle at the present stage of socialist building.

In the course of the talks, which took place in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, determination was expressed to step up mutual efforts in the interest of increasing the effectiveness of Soviet-Hungarian economic ties and improving the entire mechanism of collaboration.

Visit Summarized

PM0805121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Budapest, 6 May—The working visit to Hungary by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has concluded.

During his stay in Hungary he met with MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz.

V.P. Nikonov met with P. Ivanyi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. Topical questions of Soviet-Hungarian economic cooperation were raised during the exchange of opinions. Special attention was paid to collaboration in the agrarian sector, improving its mechanism, and increasing the effectiveness of bilateral contacts. It was noted that there are untapped reserves in this sphere in both the USSR and Hungary, and that efforts must now be focused on taking advantage of them.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the MSZMP's regional committees in the Somogy and Bacs-Kiskun regions and met with their first secretaries. They told him about the regional party organizations' urgent tasks in improving the style and methods of party work and implementing transformations in the political and economic spheres.

There were conversations with professors, teachers, postgraduates, and other students of the Keszthely Agrarian University's animal husbandry department. In addressing them, V.P. Nikonov described the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and noted the importance of deepening direct ties between the two countries' scientists and specialists for accelerating scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the economy.

During the visit, V.P. Nikonov was familiarized with the activity of a number of farms, advanced techniques in farming and livestock raising, and the system of integration between small-scale commodity producers and large agrarian complexes. He asked about the work experience of businessmen and lease holders specializing in the fattening of poultry and livestock, and he also visited peasant subsidiary holdings.

V.P. Nikonov visited the Meriklon science and production association, which specializes in the cultivation and sale of virus-free seedstock, fruit and berry crops, and flowers; one of the country's largest meat combines at Kaposvar; the Elgep food industry equipment plant in Budapest; and a poultry processing combine in Kecskemet. There was a businesslike and frank discussion of topical problems of Soviet-Hungarian cooperation in industrial sectors linked with agrarian production and of ways of resolving them.

Reader Answered on Janos Kadar's Status

PM0805095589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Rudenko answer to reader's question under the rubric "Dialogue: Readers Enquire and Discuss": "The Post of Chairman"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "I read a report about a Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] plenum chaired by J. Kadar. However, K. Grosz is now MSZMP general secretary. What is going on here?
"[Signed] A. Panov, Orenburg"

A number of foreign communist parties have the post of chairman in addition to the post of first (or general) secretary. This post was established in the MSZMP at the 1988 national party conference, when Janos Kadar was unanimously elected party chairman. Karoly Grosz was elected MSZMP general secretary.

The new post of party chairman, the official announcements from the conference noted, was established because the MSZMP believed it essential to make use of J. Kadar's wealth of experience.

Maslyukov Concludes Romanian Visit, Returns

LD0605215789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Maslyukov has been on a working visit to Romania. [video shows entrance to the FCE works] Maslyukov's itinerary included a visit to Romanian enterprises able and willing to expand their ties with our country. The Calculatoare works is just one of these. Medium-capacity computers, mini- and microcomputers, video terminals, and printers are manufactured here. All of this equipment is compatible with systems used in the USSR.

At the Bucharest tool and unit works, the Soviet guest was shown a wide range of tools manufactured according to Romanian specifications and also to specifications from firms in Japan, Italy, and the FRG. In accordance with contracts signed, automatic lines for the Zil and Gorkiy motor vehicle works are being manufactured here. A conversation was held at the works on possible coproduction and increased deliveries for machine-building.

Today Comrade Maslyukov and Comrade Balan, chairman of the Romanian State Planning Committee, signed a protocol on the results of the negotiations which had been held in Bucharest. [video shows Maslyukov and counterpart signing documents] [video shows Maslyukov being interviewed by reporter Zheleznyak] [Begin Maslyukov recording] I consider the level of cooperation at the enterprise level to be insufficient. The programs being drawn up for specialization and coproduction are being considered and ratified very slowly and sluggishly. Therefore, we have agreed with our Romanian colleagues that this work should be speeded up, and that this work is very necessary. Second, we reached an agreement on basic contracts for the volume of trade in the next 5-year period, which is very important for drawing up the development concept for both Soviet Union and Romania. [end recording]

[Announcer] Today Comrade Maslyukov returned to Moscow from Bucharest. He was met at the airport by Comrade Talyzin and other officials. [video shows Maslyukov descending from aircraft; Talyzin greets him]

PZPR Conference Backs 'Radicalizing' Reforms

PM0905102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "PZPR Conference Resolution"]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 May—The resolutions adopted by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] national conference expressed approval for the activity of the PZPR Central Committee in the period since the 10th party congress and support for the decisions early this year of the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum, decisions that created conditions for a breakthrough in the implementation of socialist renewal.

Having examined the results of the "roundtable," the conference delegates expressed the conviction that despite the emerging differences, the implementation of the joint accords will help socialist Poland's sociopolitical progress and economic development.

The conference expressed full support for the course of radicalizing the economic reforms. It deemed it necessary to begin working for a comprehensive program for the state's social policy, which should be referred for general discussion and submitted to the upcoming 11th PZPR Congress.

The conference acknowledged the need to make changes to the PZPR program in view of the transformations taking place in the political and economic system, and also to elaborate proposals on changing the PZPR statutes with a view to creating a more modern party. The PZPR Central Committee has been instructed to submit the drafts of these two documents for partywide discussion and to present them to the 11th PZPR Congress.

Jakes-Honecker Talks in Prague Detailed

*PM0805092889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 May 89 First Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "Positive Trends"]

[Text] Prague, 4 May—Positive trends in international life are the result of the dynamic foreign policy course of the USSR and the other socialist countries and the activeness of all the world's social forces that are guided by reason and realism. This was the conclusion at talks held here between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, who today arrived in Prague on a friendly working visit.

In the course of a discussion of the situation in the international communist and workers' movement, M. Jakes and E. Honecker noted that the new international situation and social processes in the socialist, capitalist, and developing countries pose new problems and tasks for the communist and workers' parties, the resolution of which will determine the fate and prospects of peace and social progress. The present-day situation requires the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the strategy of the communist parties, and their cooperation and joint policy.

Yugoslavs' Definition of Party's Role Explained

*PM0305080989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Apr 89 Second Edition p 4*

[V. Sharov reply to reader's letter as part of feature entitled "Dialogue: Readers Ask, Argue, Ponder": "Leading (Vedushchaya) or Guiding (Rukovodyashchaya)?"—first two paragraphs are a reader's letter]

[Text] *"Stipe Suvar, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, who was interviewed by PRAVDA's correspondents (published 3 March 1989), said that it is planned to transform 'the LCY so that it operates not as the party in power but rather as the party of the working class in the ranks of that class and in society as a whole, playing the part of ideological and political head [predvoditel] but acting as a force that does not command but which rather encourages and inspires.' Please explain what S. Suvar has in mind. "G. Shiyan, Moscow City."*

The quoted extract from the interview reflects first the LCY leadership's specific view of the communist party's role in society, and second a peculiarity of terminology. What is the meaning of "operates not as the party in power"? I do not think I would be wrong in offering the following answer: does not assume the functions of state and economic organs, and does not manage all processes in society by relying on administrative-edict methods. In its striving to abandon edict methods, the LCY "dissociated" itself from some ideas which are commonly accepted by other ruling parties. Its documents, for example, emphasize: The communist party in Yugoslav society performs not a guiding [rukovodyashchaya] role but rather a leading [vedushchaya] ideological and political role.

Bulgarian Party Plenum Concludes 5 May

*LD0505225189 Moscow TASS in English
2002 GMT 5 May 89*

[Text] Sofia May 5 TASS—Radical measures of the restructuring of Bulgaria's agrarian sector have been adopted by a plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party that ended here on Friday [5 May]. The plenum discussed and endorsed a report of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, which set out the main directions of the party's policy in the area. The report emphasized the need to abandon old, outdated forms of managing agriculture and of shaping a new model of the management of the area.

The ideas advanced in the report and the opening speech at the plenum by General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Todor Zhivkov met with the support of the participants in the forum. People who took the floor at the plenum endorsed the proposals for refining the economic levers and mechanisms, for setting up agricultural firms, and creation on this basis of a new organizational and economic entity—an agricultural economy, on the development of lease holding, and establishing effective ties of the agrarian sector with other branches of the economy. It is intended to offer opportunities for development to various forms of organizing agricultural production on the principle of unity and indivisibility of the socialist property.

Those who spoke at the plenum noted the importance of enhancing the initiative of rural toilers in resolving tasks posed by life, consistent and well-considered activity of state bodies drawing up plans and forming state orders for agriculture. The need to improve social and everyday conditions for agricultural workers has been emphasized.

The decision adopted by the plenum unanimously endorsed the report of the Political Bureau "On the agrarian policy in conditions of restructuring submitted for the consideration of the plenum by General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Todor Zhivkov." The provisions developed in the report should form the basis for the restructuring of agriculture in accordance with the July concept and decisions of the December (1988) plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, on the principles of organizing firms in agricultural production, the document says.

The plenum suggested that the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria submit to the State Council a draft decree on regulating norms and legal matters related to the use of land and organization of agricultural activity.

West Europe

FRG's Adm Wellershoff Begins Tour of Country

PM0805150189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the USSR Ministry of Defense"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Final talks between Army General M.A. Moiseyev and [FRG] Admiral D. Wellershoff were held 5 May.

In the afternoon Adm D. Wellershoff and the officials accompanying him left on a tour of the country.

They were seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev and other generals and officers of the USSR Armed Forces.

The send-off party included A. Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR.

The FRG and USSR flags were flying at the airport, and an honor guard was drawn up on the runway.

Ivan Silayev Meets With Danielle Mitterrand

LD0305204189 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 3 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 3 TASS—Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French president, arrived in Moscow today. She will be staying in the Soviet Union as chairman of the France Liberte Fund set up by her. This public organisation is engaged in questions of international humanitarian assistance and cooperation.

On the same day Danielle Mitterrand met and conferred with Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The talk concerned issues related to the organisation and progress in the re-building work in earthquake-afflicted areas of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and involvement of French representatives and organisations, including the France Liberte Fund, in it.

Deal Signed With UK Firm on Pay Telephones

PM0905094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 89 First Edition p 2

[Report by V. Chebakov under the rubric "Contacts And Contracts": "From Pay Telephone to the Whole World"]

[Text] The other day documents establishing the joint Soviet-British "KOMSTAR" enterprise were signed in Moscow. The founders were the Moscow city telephone system and Britain's GEC Plessey Telecommunications, one of the world's largest communications companies. These pay telephones, which are in use in more than 40 countries, are unusual. They can be used by customers who have a special card that bears a coded four-color image of the amount paid. Customers insert the card in the pay telephone, the computer reads the code, and, if there is money in the account, the user can call anywhere in the world. In it first stage, "KOMSTAR" will set up a system of 100 telephones in Moscow, installing them at the international airport, in "Intourist" hotels, and elsewhere. The innovation will be popular with businessmen and tourists visiting Moscow. The pay telephones will be in operation by the end of the year.

"The Moscow City Telephone System Production Association is more than 100 years old," its chief, V. Vasilyev, said. "It is an intricate complex of switchboard, transmission, and line equipment for 3.5 million telephones. In Moscow 88 percent of apartments have telephones. Some 34,000 pay telephones have also been installed in the city as a whole. But the Moscow city telephone system still has many problems when it comes to providing excellent communications for citizens. Suffice it to say that there are currently more than 110,000 applications for telephones which we cannot satisfy at the moment—we are short of modern equipment and cables. That is why we took advantage of the opportunity for foreign economic activity to improve our equipment and expand the capital's telephone system. We hope this cooperation will give new momentum to the development of this type of service in Moscow and that it will help us reach a qualitatively new level of technology. Incidentally, the Moscow city telephone system has established yet another joint enterprise in the communications field with the Finnish firm Nokia."

Greetings Sent to Swedish Communists' Congress

PM0505140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message to the 29th Swedish Communist Workers Party Congress]

[Text] To the 29th Swedish Communist Workers Party Congres:

Dear comrades,

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent greetings and wishes of fruitful work to the delegates to the 29th Swedish Communist Workers Party Congress.

Responding to the challenge of the times, communists at the present crucial stage of history are seeking new approaches in the struggle for working people's fundamental interests. There is a growing awareness in the world of the need to ensure a secure future for human civilization, one free from violence and wars and from ecological disasters.

The CPSU is carrying out the revolutionary restructuring of all aspects of the life of Soviet society. It advocates the establishment of new political thinking in international relations, which implies the mastery by all states of the difficult art of living in conditions of peace and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Soviet Communists know of your party's vigorous efforts in favor of disarmament, the creation of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, and the strengthening of good-neighborliness between our countries' peoples.

We wish you, members of the Communist Workers Party, success in your activity for the benefit of working people, for peace, democracy, and socialism!

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Soviet Delegate Addresses Body

LD0505221389 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Stockholm May 5 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Taras Lariokhin.

Disarmament and social development is the main theme of the discussion which started at the 29th Congress of the Swedish Workers' Communist Party (SWCP). The key report was delivered by SWCP Board Chairman Rolf Hagel.

Elimination of nuclear stockpiles and reduction of armaments as a whole are of paramount importance for humankind's survival, said Rolf Bucht, programme commission member. These questions as well as efforts aimed at environmental protection should occupy a place of prominence in the party's activities.

Detente has created prerequisites for the widest possible international cooperation, including the economic sphere, said party board member Erik Berg. The SWCP resolutely objects to extreme orientation of Swedish foreign trade on the Common Market countries, he pointed out. It is necessary to develop and strengthen mutually advantageous business contacts with the socialist and developing states.

The congress gives much attention to questions of intraparty activities. Delegates voiced proposals on attentive studies of processes of democratisation, glasnost (openness) and economic reforms in the socialist countries.

The forum was addressed by Vladimir Kalashnikov, the head of the Soviet Communist Party delegation, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Volgograd regional party committee. The recent elections to the Soviet parliament were a nation-wide referendum in support of perestroyka. The Soviet people confirmed their commitment to socialism and backed the party's line for a renewal of society. Kalashnikov read out a congratualatory message of the CPSU Central Committee to the 29th SWCP Congress, which was warmly applauded to by the gathering.

Latin America & Caribbean

Bush Remarks at Central America Forum Criticized

LD0305192789 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 3 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 3 TASS—TASS political news analyst Nikolay Chigir writes:

The speeches U.S. President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker made before members of 'The Council of the Americas", a business organisation, give every ground to assume that so far no changes of substance are in the offing in Washington's policy in the Western Hemisphere, which would accord with the principles of new thinking in international relations. In any case, judging by these speeches, the present U.S. policy vis-a-vis the Central American region and Panama differs little from the one so tenaciously pursued there by the previous administration of Ronald Reagan. As before, to achieve its egoist objectives, the Washington leadership is staking on muscle-flexing, on interference in the internal affairs of other states, and on preventing their peoples from making their own independent choice.

President Bush permitted himself sharp attacks against independent Panama, groundlessly accusing it of an alleged intention to rig the outcome of the upcoming presidential elections. And under this specious pretext, he declared in advance that the USA would not recognise the results of the election if it failed to square with the U.S. interests, in other words if the winners are not the reactionary forces of Panamanian opposition which enjoys Washington's support. It will be recalled that, as "The U.S. News and World Report" recently reported, President Bush signed back in February a secret directive to earmark over 10 million dollars for the CIA to finance the Panamanian opposition on the eve of the elections.

This unceremonious interference in the internal affairs of Panama threatens to spark a new armed conflict in the Western Hemisphere. The possibility of such a dangerous turn of events was raised, among others, by the U.S. CBS television company, which, citing informed sources, reported that during a meeting between the secretary of state and the defence secretary of the United States options were discussed for a tough U.S. response to the elections in Panama, including the possibility of an armed intervention.

The attacks against Nicaragua, contained in the speeches of Bush and Baker, can only be seen as attempts to torpedo the incipient realistic prospects for a political settlement to the Central American conflict. Moreover, in a bid to justify his anti-Nicaraguan policy, the U.S.

President tried to make it appear as if the responsibility for the conflict situation in Central America lay with the Soviet Union. These assertions do not, however, have a leg to stand on.

Concerning the conflict in Central America, the Soviet Union holds a clear and unambiguous position, being categorically opposed to any attempts to resolve it by military means. The Soviet Government has proposed, among other things, that together with the United States they jointly end their arms shipments to all countries of Central America. The omens are, however, that Washington so far is not prepared to accept this constructive proposal which offers a realistic opportunity to safeguard peace and security in the region.

U.S. 'Anti-Panama Campaign' Condemned

PM0805101989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Commentary": "Panama Under Siege"]

[Text] With the date of the general elections in Panama, planned for 7 May, drawing ever closer, the U.S. Administration is stepping up its anti-Panama campaign in the hope of exerting a decisive electoral influence in favor of the opposition. The situation has reached the point where Panama has had to request an urgent session of the UN Security Council to discuss the question of crude U.S. interference in the Republic's internal affairs. By its actions, the letter says, Washington is seeking to destabilize the situation in the country by carrying out "both overt and covert actions directed against the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Panama."

As far as the "overt actions" are concerned, these primarily consist of the U.S. President's decision to extend the U.S. economic sanctions against Panama for another year. In this connection G. Bush has said that Panama "continues to represent an extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States." So that is how it is: an "extraordinary threat"! Evidently taking this statement as some kind of signal, the U.S. troops stationed in the Panama Canal zone have noticeably stepped up their activity. True, according to a statement by Admiral R. Ustick, chief of staff of the U.S. Southern Command, they are simply carrying out "routine exercises." However, the time chosen for these exercises leaves no doubt that they are a frank and provocative display of military strength.

There is also no doubt that part of the "general siege" of Panama organized by the United States is the recent appearance of a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES about a U.S. plan to organize a coup d'etat in this Central American republic against General M. Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces. According to the newspaper, the plan was approved last year by President R. Reagan. Although the plan was not given the "go-ahead" at the time, it has not been dropped, THE NEW YORK TIMES adds meaningfully.

In its attempt to prevent a victory by supporters of the present Panamanian Government in the upcoming elections and to secure the removal of General M. Noriega by any means, Washington is not stinting on clearly provocative statements and actions. Claims are made virtually every day—and at the very highest level—that General M. Noriega apparently intends to make a farce of the elections by rigging the results of the vote in favor of government supporters. Rebutting these conjectures, the command of the National Defense Forces has pointed out that their aim is to sow uncertainty among the voters and to give the opposition reason to attack the government and the National Defense Forces command, which are fully determined to ensure strict observance of Panamanian-U.S. treaties on the canal and the elimination of the U.S. military presence in the canal zone in any form. The same subversive aim is being pursued by "instructions" distributed by the U.S. State Department. These contain an appeal to Americans to not currently visit Panama due to the threat of "undesirable incidents."

But it has become clear that Washington is certainly not limiting itself to statements and "instructions." According to U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, back in February the United States allocated $10 million to the Panamanian reactionaries, whose core is the "Opposition Democratic Alliance," and that it later allocated an even larger sum. Washington believes that it is not throwing money to the wind. If it wins the elections, the Panamanian opposition is prepared, according to the newspaper LA REPUBLICA, to review the treaties on the Panama Canal so that the United States can maintain its military presence there even after the year 2000.

The election campaign in Panama is now entering a decisive phase. The many foreign observers and journalists arriving in the country especially to cover the course of the elections can see for themselves that the campaign is entirely aboveboard. However, the current actions of official Washington, which has organized a real siege of Panama, attest to the stubborn reluctance of the United States to recognize the will of its people and, more particularly, to reconcile itself to the collapse of its influence in the region.

Nicaragua's Ortega Asks Europe for Economic Aid

LD0605135489 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Rome May 6 TASS—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega reaffirmed the truly democratic character of changes under way in Nicaragua and requested the financial support of European states to conduct economic reforms in the country.

Speaking a news conference in Rome about a possible improvement of relations with the United States, Ortega said that he hoped relations would improve despite the fact that President Bush had confirmed his intention to continue financing the contra rebels.

Speaking about the forthcoming meeting to discuss a Nicaraguan aid plan to be held in Stockholm on May 11-12, Ortega recalled that U.S. representatives had also been invited by the Swedish Government.

Touching upon the actions of the Washington administration in respect to Panama, Ortega expressed deep concern. He described Bush's position with regard to Panama as extremist.

Argentine Governor Cited on Trade Agreements

PM0805124589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Cooperation Prospects"]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 4 May—The accords reached in Moscow are opening up extensive prospects for fruitful cooperation between Argentina and the Soviet Union, Jose Bordon, governor of the Argentine province of Mendoza, stated at a news conference which took place here upon his return from the USSR, which he had visited at the invitation of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers.

The agreements signed, the Argentinian governor noted, envisage export deliveries from Mendoza Province to the Soviet Union totaling $70 million in the coming 5-year period. In the next 3 years alone Mendoza's entrepreneurs will export to the USSR equipment for food-industry enterprises worth a total of $52 million. The accords reached between the Governments of the RSFSR and Mendoza Province will enable the development of direct ties and a mutually advantageous partnership in the trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural spheres.

Political & Social

Draft Law on Rights of Trade Unions Published

18280118 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Apr 89 pp 2-3

[Text] Trade unions are an important part of the political system of the Soviet society and an organic part of Soviet democracy and socialist self-management of the people.

In carrying out their statutory tasks, trade unions represent and defend the rights and interests of the workers; contribute to the improvement of conditions for their labor, life, and recreation, to the proliferation of public wealth, and to the rise of the standard of living; constantly engage in education of the masses; and involve them in management of production and social affairs.

The present law determines the legal foundations for the activity of USSR trade unions in solving problems of state, economic, and social-cultural construction, and strengthens the necessary guarantees for the successful performance of their statutory tasks.

Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. Workers' right to join together into trade unions

In keeping with the USSR Constitution, workers, employees, kolkhoz [collective farm] workers, members of other cooperatives, and students in higher and secondary specialized and vocational-technical educational institutions have the right voluntarily, regardless of race, nationality, sex or religious convictions, to join together into trade unions—social independent nonparty organizations for representation and protection of their rights and legitimate interests related to their work in public production or to their training in educational institutions.

This right is exercised through the creation of trade union organizations at enterprises and in institutions and organizations, and the unification of these into branch trade unions under the policy determined by the USSR Trade Union Regulations.

The policy for accepting members into trade unions and for their leaving trade unions is determined by the trade union regulations.

The decision to halt the activity of the trade unions can be made only by these trade unions themselves.

Belonging to trade unions does not entail any restrictions of socio-economic, political or personal rights or freedoms of the citizens that are guaranteed by Soviet laws.

Article 2. Principles of the organization and activity of trade unions

Trade unions independently develop and approve their own regulations, determine their own structure, and elect leadership agencies.

All trade unions have equal rights. Trade unions and their regulations are not subject to registration in state agencies.

The regulations of trade unions and their activity must not contradict the USSR Constitution or Soviet laws.

Trade unions have the right to hold meetings, conferences, plenums, and congresses without first obtaining permission from state agencies.

USSR trade unions cooperate with trade unions of other countries and have the right, if they choose to, to enter international and regional trade union associations and nonprofessional organizations that engage in questions of labor, life, recreation, culture, sports, tourism, other social issues, and problems of the international worker movement, to participate in their activity, and to conduct measures in support of the struggle for peace and social progress and solidarity with the workers and trade unions of other countries.

The state guarantees trade unions conditions for the successful performance of their statutory tasks. State and economic agencies, and also enterprises, institutions, and organizations, must contribute to the activity of the trade unions. Organizations of trade unions are not accountable to state agencies.

Article 3. Legislation on the rights of trade unions

Legislation on the rights of trade unions consists of the present law—which determines the basic rights of trade unions and their organizations and agencies in their interrelations with state, economic, cooperative, and other social organizations and self-management agencies of labor collectives—and also other legislative acts of the USSR and legislative acts of the union republics published in keeping with them.

Article 4. The right of trade unions to represent the interests of the workers and defend their rights

Trade unions represent and defend the labor and socioeconomic rights and interests of workers and student youth and also the rights and legitimate interests of labor collectives in state and economic agencies and cooperative and other social organizations.

To these ends representatives of trade unions have the right to freely visit enterprises, institutions, and organizations and, on their own initiative, conduct all the necessary measures in defense of the rights and legitimate interests of the workers, and to organize and support actions of the workers related to the trade unions' performance of their statutory tasks.

Chapter II. Basic Authority of Trade Unions in Management of State and Public Affairs

Article 5. The right of trade unions to participate in elections of agencies of state authority

Trade unions elect USSR people's deputies and people's deputies of union and autonomous republics from the trade unions in keeping with norms established by the Law on Elections of People's Deputies; they have the right to nominate candidates for people's deputies from territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs, and they participate in preparing for and conducting the elections.

Trade unions give orders to their deputies, hear reports about their work and the work of the council, and have the right under the established policy to recall the deputies they have elected who have not justified their confidence.

Article 6. The right of the trade unions to legislative initiative and participation in norm setting

Trade unions in the person of their unionwide agency—the congresses (conferences) of USSR trade unions, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU)—have the right to legislative initiative at congresses of people's deputies of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and in the person of republic trade union councils—at congresses of people's deputies and in the supreme soviets of the autonomous republics; they participate in the development of acts concerning labor and socioeconomic issues.

The AUCCTU, the central committees, and the trade union councils develop and introduce in the USSR Council of Ministers, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, the local soviets of people's deputies, and state management agencies, respectively, drafts of normative acts and proposals for the adoption of normative acts concerning labor and wages, price setting, taxation, social insurance, health protection, environmental protection, cultural service for the workers, and housing-domestic and other issues.

In conjunction with the AUCCTU they adopt decrees of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and other central state management agencies concerning questions of labor and wages and social development. In cases stipulated by legislation, central and republic state management agencies make decisions concerning these issues in conjunction with the corresponding central committees or republic trade union councils.

Article 7. The right of trade unions to participate in the discussion of important issues of state life

Trade unions participate in preparing for and discussing draft laws and other important questions of state and social life.

The AUCCTU has the right to make recommendations to the USSR Supreme Soviet or the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the expediency of introducing a draft law or any other issue for nationwide discussion.

Trade unions have the right to make proposals for bring up drafts of resolutions of the soviets of people's deputies and important questions of state, economic, and sociocultural construction for discussion by the population and labor collectives.

Article 8. The right of the trade unions to participate in the activity of agencies of state authority and management, people's control agencies, and agencies for self-management of labor collectives

Trade unions participate in the activity of higher agencies of state authority and management of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics.

People's deputies elected from USSR trade unions contribute to fulfilling orders from trade unions and bring up for the consideration of the corresponding soviets of people's deputies and state management agencies proposals for improving conditions for the labor, life, and recreation of the workers.

AUCCTU representatives participate in meetings of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers and the RSFSR Council of Ministers and representatives of republic and oblast trade union councils participate, respectively, in meetings of presidiums of supreme soviets and councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies when they consider issues related to the trade unions' exercise of the rights envisioned by the present law and other legislative acts of the USSR and legislative acts of the union republics published in keeping with them.

Representatives of central and republic trade union committees are included in branch councils and participate in meetings of the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the union republics with the right to a deciding vote when considering socioeconomic issues for the various branches of the national economy, and also in the work of collegial branch, interbranch, and cooperative management agencies.

Trade unions participate in the activity of people's control agencies both through their representatives in these agencies and through control operations conducted jointly with them.

Representatives of the trade union organizations are elected to the council of the labor collective of the enterprise or organization. The trade union committees of the enterprise, institution or organization have the right to bring up for the consideration of the general meeting (conference) and the council of the labor collective questions that fall within their competence.

Article 9. The rights of trade unions to make nominations for state awards

Trade unions under the established policy can initiate petitions and nominate workers, employees, and kolkhoz workers for state awards of the USSR and the union republics, the high degree of distinction and honorary titles of the USSR, honorary titles of the union republics, Lenin and State prizes, and prizes of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 10. The obligation of state, cooperative, and economic agencies to consider proposals from trade unions

State, cooperative, and economic agencies must consider proposals and drafts of normative acts submitted by the corresponding trade union agencies regarding questions related to their realization of the present law and statutory tasks, make decisions within the established time periods, and notify them of the results of the consideration of these drafts and proposals. Representatives of trade union agencies have the right to participate in the consideration of questions raised by the corresponding organizations.

Chapter III. Trade Union Rights in the Area of Labor and Solution of Socioeconomic Problems

Article 11. Trade unions protect the constitutional right of Soviet citizens to work

In conjunction with the AUCCTU, the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the union republics develop and approve measures for providing for complete and effective employment of the population, improvement of the labor placement system, and provision of social guarantees for the workers.

The elimination of an enterprise or individual subdivisions or a change in the profile of its activity, and also partial or complete halting of production that entails a cutback on jobs, is not allowed without the consent of the corresponding trade union committee or council.

Trade union committees monitor the observance of the requirements of legislation when workers are discharged, retrained, or placed in a job, and they make suggestions concerning improvement of the utilization of personnel.

The trade union committee of the enterprise or organization participates in the selection of candidates and elections by labor collectives of management workers at the enterprise or organization and nominates candidates for these positions. The appointment of workers to management positions at the enterprise, institution, or organization, if they are not to be replaced through election, is done by the administration with the agreement of the trade union committee and the council of the labor collective.

The dissolution of a labor agreement on the initiative of the administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization without the agreement of the trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization is not allowed with the exception of cases stipulated by USSR legislation. A decision of the trade union committees of the enterprise, institution, or organization to refuse to consent to the firing of a worker cannot be overridden by a state agency or the court.

Article 12. Trade union rights in establishing working conditions

The establishment of working conditions for workers and employees and also the application of labor legislation are carried out through state agencies in conjunction with or with the agreement of the trade unions.

In conjunction with or with the agreement of the AUCCTU and republic trade union councils, state agencies develop norms of legislation that define the policy for hiring, transferring, and firing, the length of working time and the time of rest, and other essential conditions for the labor of workers and employees.

In conjunction with the trade union central committees the ministries and departments make decisions concerning the establishment of the peculiarities of the regulation of working conditions for the various branches of the national economy, and, if necessary, they make the corresponding proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers, the councils of ministers of the union republics, and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

With the agreement of the trade union committees of the enterprise, institution, or organization, the administration, in keeping with legislation, establishes norms that regulate labor relations at the enterprise, institution, or organization. In conjunction with the trade union committee and the council of the labor collective the administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization can establish at its own expense labor and social and domestic benefits for workers and employees in addition to those envisioned by legislation.

In conjunction with the AUCCTU they establish standard and, with the trade union committees, branch rules for the internal labor policy, material and moral incentive measures, and disciplinary responsibility.

The rules of the internal labor policy of the enterprise, institution, or organization are developed in keeping with the branch rules by the administration in conjunction with the trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization, and are submitted by them for the approval of the general meeting (conference) of the labor collective.

Article 13. The rights of the trade unions in planning economic and social development

The trade unions participate in planning the economic and social development of the national economy, branches, regions, enterprises, and organizations, and they make suggestions for priority development of the social sphere and comprehensive solutions to problems related to improvement of the conditions for labor and life and fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people.

The AUCCTU and the trade union central committees independently or in conjunction with the corresponding central agencies of state management submit to the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] proposals for economic and social development of the branches of the national economy and the USSR for the future, and they participate in the development of drafts of the Basic Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR, the Comprehensive Program for Social Development and Improvement of National Well-Being, and the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR.

The draft of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the Union Republics, before it is submitted to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the union republic, is subject to consideration by the AUCCTU or the corresponding republic trade union council insofar as it pertains to the most important social indicators.

With the agreement of the AUCCTU and the republic trade union councils, social normatives are established for providing the population with housing, therapeutic and preventive medical institutions, schools, kindergartens, clubs, and other facilities of the nonproduction sphere.

Trade union councils submit to the corresponding republic and local management agencies proposals for drafts of comprehensive plans for social and economic development of union and autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and rayons, taking into account the development of enterprises and organizations located on the corresponding territory, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction.

The draft of the plan for economic and social development (work plan) of the enterprise or organization is developed in conjunction with the administration, the labor collective council, and the trade union committee, and is submitted for consideration and approval of the general meeting (conference) of the labor collective.

The trade union agencies and the branch councils of representatives of trade union committees have the right to hear reports from economic leaders concerning the course of the fulfillment of plans for economic and social development insofar as they pertain to social indicators and, if necessary, to raise before the corresponding agencies the question of removing or punishing leaders who are not providing for their implementation.

Article 14. The rights of the trade unions in the area of the formation and expenditure of profit (income) and economic incentive funds

In conjunction with the AUCCTU the corresponding central management agencies develop and approve provisions concerning the distribution of profit (income), the formation and utilization of wage funds (wages) and economic incentive funds, centralized funds and reserves, and also normatives for the distribution of profit (income).

The ministries and departments, in conjunction with the central and republic trade union committees, establish normatives for the distribution of profit (income), deductions into centralized funds and reserves, and the formation of economic incentive funds for the enterprises and organizations; they also determine the areas for the utilization of centralized funds and reserves.

Estimates of the expenditure of the material incentive fund (wage fund), the fund for social development, the fund for the development of production, science, and technology, and other similar funds are approved by a joint decision of the administration, the labor collective council, and the council of the trade union committee of the enterprise (association) or organization after their discussion and approval by the labor collective.

In conjunction with the labor collective council and the trade union committee the administration of the enterprise (association) or organization establishes the economic normatives for structural units and subdivisions when they are changed over to internal cost recovery or the collective (rental) contract.

Article 15. The rights of trade unions in the area of price setting

Trade unions participate in the development of the basic directions for improvement of retail prices for consumer goods and rates for services to the population and in monitoring the application of prices and rates; they approve prices for passes to sanitoriums and health resorts, recreational institutions, and trade union tourist bases. The prices of passes to departmental health facilities and pioneer camps are established with the agreement of the trade union agencies.

Changes in existing prices and the establishment of new ones for the basic food and nonfood consumer goods and rates for services to the population are made by the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the union republics with the agreement of the AUCCTU or the corresponding republic trade union councils.

Kray and oblast trade union councils along with local price setting agencies have the right to override decisions of state enterprises and organizations to establish economically unjustified retain prices for consumer goods and rates for services to the population, and also the sale of goods in cases where prices have been increased without a corresponding improvement of the consumer properties or the quality of the items.

When cooperatives set economically unsubstantiated prices the worker control organization of the trade unions has the right to submit proposals to the ispolkoms [executive committees] of the soviets of people's deputies concerning the curtailment of the activity of these cooperatives.

Article 16. The rights of trade unions to conclude collective contracts and agreements

Trade unions through the collective contract protect the rights and defend the interests of workers in solving economic and social problems in the life of the labor collective.

The trade union committee of the enterprise or organization on behalf of the labor collective concludes a collective contract with the administration of the enterprise or organization after it has been approved at the general meeting (conference) of the labor collective.

Trade unions in conjunction with state and economic agencies organize the work for concluding collective contracts and monitor their fulfillment. The policy for concluding collective contracts is established by the AUCCTU in conjunction with the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

The AUCCTU and the trade union councils conclude agreements correspondingly with the USSR Council of Ministers, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, and the ispolkoms of soviets of people's deputies on individual questions of the economic and social development of the USSR, the union and autonomous republics, and the krays and oblasts.

Central and republic trade unions have the right to conclude agreements with ministries and departments on questions of the economic and social development of branches of the national economy.

Article 21. The rights of trade unions in the area of organization and norm setting for labor

Trade unions participate in resolving issues of organization and norm setting for labor.

In conjunction with the AUCCTU, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems determines the basic directions for improvement of labor organization and develops and approves the basic provisions concerning organizaiton and norm setting for labor in the national economy.

With the agreement of the central and republic trade union committees the ministries and departments recommend progressive forms of labor organization for utilization at enterprises and organizations, and approve unified and standard branch (departmental) labor norms.

The introduction, replacement, and revision of labor norms are done by the administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization with the agreement of the trade union committee.

Article 18. The rights of trade unions in the area of payment for labor

In conjunction with the AUCCTU, the USSR Council of Ministers develops and implements measures for conducting a unified policy in the area of payment for labor, regulation of wages, and strengthening of their incentive role in increasing production effectiveness and the quality of work, and it provides for a combination of material and moral incentives.

Trade unions participate in state setting of wage norms, and check on the correctness of the application of wage systems, forms of material incentives, and the utilization of funds for paying for labor and settling accounts with workers.

In conjunction with the AUCCTU, central state management agencies improve the rate system, including changes in payment for labor in the various branches and categories of workers, the amounts of increase of rates and salaries, bonuses and the establishment of incentive increments and additional payments, and also regional regulation of wages, and they establish the normatives for the formation of funds for payment for labor.

With the agreement of central and republic trade union committees, the ministries and departments establish for the enterprises and organizations normatives for the formation of funds for payment for labor and the conditions for bonuses for management workers of enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Systems for payment for labor and forms of material incentives at enterprises, institutions, and organizations are established with the agreement of the trade union committee.

Decisions on questions of providing for a correspondence between the payment for the labor of workers and their personal contribution are made by the council of the labor collective in conjunction with the trade union committee of the enterprise or organization.

Article 19. The rights of trade unions in the organization of socialist competition

Trade unions, in conjunction with state and economic agencies, develop the labor and social activity of the workers, organize socialist competition, and create conditions for the development of its most important form—economic competition.

In conjunction with the AUCCTU, the USSR Council of Ministers takes measures for the development and increased effectiveness of socialist competition.

The trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization, in conjunction with the council of the labor collective and elective agencies of party and Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations, approves the conditions for socialist competition and sums up its results, and in conjunction with the administration, it organizes socialist competition, extensively publicizes its results, and disseminates advanced practice.

Article 20. The rights of trade unions in the area of technical creativity of the workers

Trade unions in conjunction with state and economic agencies develop mass technical creativity, inventions, and streamlined work, contribute to the formation of social creative formations and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and interact in solving these problems with organizations of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Efficiency Experts and the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies.

With the agreement of the AUCCTU, a policy is established for paying remuneration for discoveries, inventions, and efficiency proposals, and also bonuses for contributing to invention and efficiency work.

The trade union committee of the enterprise or organization checks on prompt utilization of inventions and efficiency proposals and the payment of the authors' remunerations.

Article 21. The rights of trade unions in the area of labor safety and environmental protection

Trade unions exercise supervision and control over the provision of healthful and safe conditions for the labor of workers, employees, kolkhoz workers, and members of other cooperative organizations, and students, and over the proper production life for the workers and protection of the environment.

The AUCCTU, central committees, and republic trade union councils participate in the development of social normatives by the corresponding state agencies during the creation of new technical equipment and technology, the planning and construction of new, and reconstruction of existing, enterprises and productions, and the improvement of labor organization and conditions.

In conjunction with the AUCCTU, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems establishes the policy for making compensatory payments and benefits when there are unfavorable working conditions, and also for providing workers with means of protection from the effects of dangerous and harmful production factors.

In conjunction with or with the agreement of the AUCCTU, rules that are the same for all branches of the national economy, or interbranch rules, are approved for the protection of labor (rules for technical safety, sanitary norms and rules, and so forth). Branch norms and rules for labor protection and requirements of state standards related to ensuring labor safety and protection of people's health are established by branch management agencies and state supervisory agencies, in conjunction with or with the agreement of the central committees of the corresponding trade unions.

Instructions for labor protection that establish rules for the performance of work and behavior in production premises and at construction sites are developed and approved by the administration in conjunction with the trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization.

Representatives of trade union agencies and technical labor inspection teams participate in the work of state commissions for accepting production facilities for operation, and coordinate the composition of startup complexes. The aforementioned facilities cannot be put into operation without their permission, nor can facilities for social and domestic purposes, labor safety, and environmental protection be excluded from the composition of the startup complexes.

The technical labor inspection team has the right to conduct inspections to make sure that the plans for enterprises and productions, and also produced equipment and technological processes, meet the norms for labor safety and environmental protection legislation, and to demand that the necessary changes be made in them.

Under the policy established by the AUCCTU, trade unions have the right to halt the operation of state and cooperative enterprises and organizations and their subdivisions, and the trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization has this right in individual work places and sections in the event of violation of labor safety rules, the creation of a hazardous situation, or a threat to the health and lives of people. Representatives of trade unions and the technical labor inspection teams participate in the investigation of emergency situations and accidents in production, and give conclusions about their causes and also instructions that are mandatory for economic agencies and administrations of enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

The trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization checks on the observance of the rules and instructions for labor safety, the schedules for work and rest time, and the utilization of funds allotted for improvement of working conditions.

Article 22. The rights of trade unions in the area of social insurance and protection of the health of the workers

Trade unions manage social insurance and also the sanatorium-health resort institutions, sanatorium-preventive medical institutions, and recreational institutions under their jurisdiction; they exercise public control over the work of public health and social insurance agencies and institutions.

The AUCCTU approves the state social insurance budget; in conjunction with the corresponding state agencies, it develops and submits to the USSR Council of Ministers proposals for contribution rates for social insurance and the implementation of statewide measures in the areas of social insurance, pensions, protection of the health of workers and their family members, and social-cultural and domestic service for veterans of war and labor.

In conjunction with the AUCCTU the USSR Council of Ministers establishes the policy for making social insurance contributions, the basic conditions and the amounts of stipends for social insurance, and also the policy for the payment of pensions to working pensioners.

The AUCCTU develops and approves independently or in conjunction with the corresponding state agencies normative acts concerning questions of social insurance and protection of the health of workers and members of their families; in conjunction with state management agencies and soviets of people's deputies it resolves issues of the efficient location of sanatorium-health resort institutions and recreational institutions, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction, and protection of the natural therapeutic resources of the health resorts.

Trade union agencies have the right: to take measures against insured parties for violation of the policy for making insurance payments and the expenditure of social insurance funds; to participate, in conjunction with state and economic agencies and public health institutions, in the development and implementation of comprehensive territorial and branch programs for the improvement of the organization of medical and sanitary assistance in the prevention and reduction of disease and disability, and in the the protection of mothers and children; and to participate in the development and strengthening of the material and technical base for therapeutic-preventive medical and health institutions.

The trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization: provides social insurance for workers, employees, kolkhoz workers, members of cooperative organizations, and other parties to whom social insurance applies, and disposes of funds allocated for these purposes; checks on the promptness and completeness of the insurance payments made by enterprises, institutions, and organizations; assigns stipends; nominates workers for pensions; sends workers and members of their families for sanatorium and health resort treatment and recreation; and takes measures to increase concern for veterans of war and labor, pensioners, disabled persons, and the families of deceased military servicemen.

The removal, combination, reprofiling, or reorganization of medical-sanitary units and other therapeutic-preventive medical and health institutions constructed at the expense of enterprises and organizations are not allowed without the agreement of the trade union committee.

Representatives of trade union organizations participate in the work of commissions for assigning pensions under the ispolkoms of the rayon (city) soviets of people's deputies and physician-labor expert commissions (VTEK).

Article 23. The rights of trade unions in the area of housing and domestic service for the population

In conjunction with the AUCCTU, state agencies and administrations establish the basic rules for assigning, utilizing, and paying for residential premises and municipal-domestic and transportation services.

With the agreement of the trade union central committees, the ministries and departments make decisions concerning the construction of housing, children's preschool institutions, and other social facilities, the maintenance and improvement of the housing supply, and the development of the network of public catering, trade, and other enterprises in the sphere of services for workers financed by state capital investments.

With the participation of the trade union councils, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the kray, oblast, and city soviets of people's deputies determine the plans for the construction and repair of the housing supply, children's preschool institutions, public catering, trade, and other enterprises in the services sphere.

Representatives of trade union councils and trade union committees are included on the state commissions for accepting for operation residential buildings and social-domestic facilities that have been constructed. The commissions' acceptance documents are invalid without the signatures of representatives of the corresponding trade union agencies.

In conjunction with the trade union councils, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the kray, oblast, and city soviets of people's deputies establish the rules for keeping track of citizens in need of better housing and the granting of dwelling space to them. Trade union agencies monitor the distribution of dwelling space at enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and provide for openness and participation of the labor collectives in resolving these issues.

In conjunction with the trade union committee, the administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization:

prepares and submits for the consideration and approval of the general meeting (conference) of the labor collective drafts of plans for the construction and repair of residential buildings and for the development of the network of children's preschool institutions, public catering, trade, and other enterprises in the sphere of services for the workers—with money from the social development fund, bank credit, and other funds—and determines the most convenient schedule for the operation of enterprises that serve the workers in the work place;

solves problems having to do with the organization of housing-construction and housing cooperatives, and makes suggestions to the labor collective concerning granting workers assistance with cooperative and individual housing construction and other needs with money from the social development fund and other money intended for these purposes;

in the work place, keeps track of citizens in need of improved housing, and makes decisions concerning putting them on the list for housing and granting them dwelling space;

makes decisions concerning the creation of subsidiary farms, the utilization of their products for improving the nutrition of the workers, and also the organization of gardening societies and collectives.

The trade unions exercise worker control over the activity of the enterprises and organizations of trade, public catering, consumer, and medical service, enlisting the broad masses of workers in this.

Article 24. The rights of trade unions in the area of formal and informal education, culture, sports, and tourism

In conjunction with the trade unions, state agencies make decisions regarding the most important questions of formal and informal education of the workers, culture, sports, and tourism.

Trade unions organize the leisure of the workers and their families—the physical culture and sports work, recreation and the improvement of the health of children—and they develop tourism and international cultural ties.

Trade union organizations have the right independently or jointly with the soviets of people's deputies, economic agencies, and social organizations to create cultural-educational, theatrical-performance, physical culture-sports, and children's preschool institutions, amateur associations with the rights of a legal body, cooperatives, and autonomously financed centers for the organization of leisure; they guide the activity of cultural-educational, theatrical-performance, sports, and tourist institutions, and of cultural and sports complexes belonging to the enterprises, institutions, organizations, and educational establishments.

Article 25. The rights of trade unions in publishing activity and the utilization of the mass media

Trade unions have the right independently or in conjunction with social organizations and state agencies to publish newspapers, magazines, and books, to organize radio and television programs, to use other means of mass information and propaganda, and to create and develop their own printing base.

Chapter IV. Supervision and Control by Trade Unions of the Observance of Labor Legislation and Other Social Rights of Workers

Article 26. The right of trade unions to exercise supervision and control over the observance of legislation

Trade unions provide supervision and control over the observance of labor legislation and the rules for labor safety and monitor the observance of legislation concerning health protection, social security, the policy for keeping track of citizens in need of better housing and the provision of dwelling space, and also legislation concerning protection of the environment by enterprises and organizations.

The trade unions have jurisdiction over the technical and legal inspectorate of labor and authorized physicians operating on the basis of the provisions approved by the AUCCTU. The policy for supervising public inspectors and commissions of the trade union committee is established by provisions approved by the AUCCTU.

Article 27. Measures for strengthening legislation applied by trade unions

The technical and legal labor inspectorate and authorized physicians within the limits of their competence have the right to give orders that are mandatory for managers of enterprises, institutions, and organizations concerning the elimination of violations of legislation and also the rules for labor safety.

The legal and technical labor inspectorate has the right to impose fines under the established policy on officials guilty of violating labor legislation, the rules for protection of labor, and environmental protection legislation.

Trade unions have the right to bring actions, submit claims, and go to court in defense of the labor and housing rights of the workers, and to render them legal assistance regarding these issues.

At the demand of the trade union agency (no lower than the rayon), the branch council of representatives of trade union committees, or the trade union committee that has been granted the rights of the trade union raykom [rayon party committee], the administration must dissolve a labor agreement with a management worker or transfer him from the position he holds if he violates labor legislation or the rules for granting housing, does not fulfill his commitments according to the collective agreement, impedes the exercise of worker control of the trade unions, exhibits bureaucratism, or allows red tape. Management workers who have been elected to their positions by the labor collective are discharged at the request of the trade union agency (no lower than the rayon), the branch council of representatives of trade union committees, or the trade union committee that has been given the rights of the trade union raykom on the basis of a decision of the general meeting (conference) of the corresponding labor collective or, on its authority, the labor collective council. Managers of cooperative organizations are discharged at the demand of the trade union agency (no lower than rayon), the branch council of representatives of trade union committees, or the trade union committee that has been given the rights of the trade union raykom, on the basis of a decision of the general meeting of members of the cooperative.

Article 28. The right of trade union agencies to hear information and reports from managers of state, cooperative, and economic agencies, and to override management decisions

Trade union agencies and branch councils of representatives of trade union committees have the right to hear information and reports from managers of state, cooperative, and economic agencies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations regarding questions of labor, daily life, recreation, culture, and other questions of social development, and to make the corresponding decisions regarding them.

Trade union agencies have the right to override management decisions of state, cooperative and economic agencies if they are made in violation of legislation concerning the rights of trade unions or violate the rights of labor collectives or the labor and housing rights of workers and employees, kolkhoz workers or other members of cooperatives.

The management decision is invalid from the time the agency that made it receives a justified stay of execution from a trade union agency of the same or a higher level.

The state, cooperative, or economic agency, within 7 days after the receipt of the justified stay from the trade union agency, reverses its decision or, if it does not agree with the decision of the trade union agency appeals to a higher agency within the same amount of time.

The higher state economic agency, having recognized the stay as valid, overrides the decision of the lower agency. If necessary the question is considered by the higher state, economic, and corresponding trade union agency. In keeping with the results of the joint consideration the higher state economic agency overrides the decision or the corresponding trade union agency overrides the decree for the stay of the management decision.

Article 29. The rights of trade unions to examine labor disputes

The trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization examines labor disputes upon appeal from workers and employees, or the administration for decisions of the commission for labor disputes, adopts decrees regarding them, and issues certificates with the force of a writ of execution for compulsory execution of the decisions of the commission and decrees adopted by the trade union committee, and, if they have not been executed, by their administration.

The trade union committee of the enterprise, institution, or organization participates in the consideration of collective labor disputes between the labor collective and the administration regarding questions of the application of labor legislation that is in effect, and also the observance of conditions and payment for labor envisioned by the collective agreement.

Representatives of the trade union committee are included on the conciliation commission created at the enterprise, institution, or organization for consideration of the collective labor disputes between the labor collective and the administration, and representatives of the corresponding higher trade union agency are included on the labor arbitration board under the supreme soviet of the union republic (that does not have oblast division), autonomous republic, or oblast (city) court.

Upon application from the trade union committee and with its participation, the labor arbitration board considers collective labor disputes if agreement is not reached by the conciliation commission, if one of the sides does not abide by the commission decision, and also if the decision that is made contradicts existing legislation.

The trade union committee which represents the interests of the labor collective has the right to stop work at an enterprise, organization, or institution when there is a violation of the procedure established by legislation for considering the labor dispute, or when the administration does not abide by the agreement that has been reached or the decision that has been made by the labor arbitration board.

Chapter V. Guarantees of the Rights of Trade Unions

Article 30. The obligation of state and economic agencies, social organizations, and officials to observe the rights of trade unions

The rights of trade unions are protected by law.

State and economic agencies, social organizations, and officials must observe the rights of trade unions.

Officials guilty of violating the rights of trade unions bear disciplinary, administrative, and criminal responsibility under the policy established by legislation.

Trade unions have the right to demand that the guilty parties be held accountable.

Article 31. Property rights of trade unions

Trade unions own, use, and dispose of property and money belonging to them.

The property of trade unions includes enterprises, buildings, residential buildings and structures, cultural-educational, sanatorium-health resort, sports-health, and tourist-excursion institutions, educational institutions, publishing houses and other institutions with their equipment, cultural and educational funds, money, and also other property that meets the purposes of their activity, belongs to them, and is on the books of trade union agencies or organizations under the jurisdiction of trade unions.

Creditors cannot make claims against enterprises, buildings, structures, and other property that is the fixed capital of trade unions or their cultural and educational funds. They are not subject to confiscation or transfer without the agreement of the corresponding trade union agencies.

Trade unions do not bear property liability for commitments ensuing from collective agreements, and are not responsible for commitments of state, cooperative, and other social organizations, just as the state and its agencies and organizations are not responsible for the commitments of the trade unions.

Article 32. The rights of trade unions in conducting financial activity

In their financial activity trade unions and enterprises, institutions and organizations under their jurisdiction are not accountable to or controlled by state agencies.

The AUCCTU and trade union councils and central committees independently determine the policy and areas for the utilization of the monetary funds, property, and material values at their disposal, and establish wage funds and working conditions for their workers.

Trade unions and their cultural-educational, sports, and health improvement institutions are relieved of paying taxes, contributions, or deductions into state income.

Article 33. The obligations of the administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization to create material conditions for the activity of the trade union committee

The administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization must under the established policy grant the trade union committee free use of:

premises for the work of the trade union committee, for holding meetings, and for other social measures, and also means of transportation, accounting and organizational equipment, and means of communications;

buildings, premises, structures, and other objects on the books of the enterprise, institution, or organization, or leased by it, and also recreation bases and pioneer and health camps necessary for organizing recreation and conducting cultural-educational, physical culture, and therapeutic-health improvement work with the workers and their families.

Equipment, cultural and sports supplies, and maintenance, repair, and operation of the aforementioned facilities are paid for by the enterprise, institution, or organization.

Enterprises and organizations must allot funds to the trade union committee in the established amounts for the development of cultural-educational work and the organization of cultural recreation for workers and employees.

Article 34. Guarantees for elected trade union workers and the trade union aktiv

Workers and employees elected to trade union agencies, during the time they are performing their social duties as stipulated by the USSR Trade Union Regulations, are granted all guarantees envisioned by legislation for elected workers, and also the additional guarantees envisioned by the present article.

Members of elected trade union agencies are relieved of production work while retaining their average earnings for the time they participate as delegates to congresses, conferences, and plenums convened by trade union agencies. Representatives of trade union committees of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and also members of other elected trade union agencies who have not been relieved of their production work, and trade union activists, can, by a decision of the labor collective, be granted, under the conditions determined by the collective agreement, free time from work while retaining their average earnings in order to fulfill social commitments in the interests of the collective.

Workers and employees elected to a trade union agency and not relieved of their production work cannot be subjected to disciplinary penalties without the preliminary agreement of the trade union agency to which they belong, and for chairmen of trade union committees of enterprises, institutions, and organizations, and trade union shop committees, trade union organizers, and leaders of trade union groups, without the preliminary agreement of the higher trade union agency. Firing on the initiative of the administration of workers and employees elected to trade union agencies and not relieved of their production work can occur, along with the observance of the general policy for firing, only with the preliminary agreement of the trade union agency to which they belong, and chairmen and members of trade union committees—in addition to the above, only with the agreement of the higher trade union agency. The firing of trade union organizers and leaders of small trade union groups on the initiative of the administration is allowed only with the agreement of the higher trade union agency.

Workers and employees relieved of their work because of being elected to positions in trade union agencies are granted their previous job (position) after the completion of their work in the elective position, or, with the agreement of the worker, another equal job at the same enterprise, institution, or organization.

Firing on the initiative of the administration of workers and employees elected to trade union agencies within 2 years after the completion of their work in the elective position in the trade union agency is allowed only under the policy stipulated by the present article.

Workers and employees relieved from work as a result of being elected to positions in trade union agencies retain their right to a place on the waiting list for housing in the location of their previous work.

Chapter VI. Concluding Provisions

Article 35. The policy for resolving disagreements between trade union and state and economic agencies and agencies of the labor collective

Disagreements between the trade union committee and the council of the labor collective are considered by a general meeting (conference) of the labor collective.

Disagreements between trade union and state and economic agencies are resolved according to an agreement between the corresponding higher agencies.

Legislative acts of the USSR and the union republics, decrees and instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the union republics, and also acts of other state agencies and social organizations adopted in violation of the rights of trade unions, workers, or labor collectives can be appealed by the AUCCTU and republic trade union councils to the USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision.

Article 36. The effect of the present law and the peculiarities of its application

The present law applies to all trade union agencies and organizations operating in keeping with the USSR Trade Union Regulations.

On the basis of the present law and other legislative acts, trade unions in the person of the AUCCTU determine the peculiarities of the application of the law to trade union organizations of associations, kolkhozes, other cooperative organizations, and educational institutions, and approve the provisions concerning the rights of elective trade union agencies.

The peculiarities of the application of the present law to trade unions of individual branches of the national economy and trade union organizations of individual kinds of enterprises and organizations are determined by the AUCCTU, and in the appropriate cases—under the policy determined by the AUCCTU in conjunction with the USSR Council of Ministers.

Shalayev Interviewed on Draft Law

182800124 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 May 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, by TRUD correspondent: "On Trade Union Rights"; date and place not given]

[Text] **S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], was asked by a TRUD correspondent to respond to a number of questions concerning the publication of the draft USSR Law "On the Rights of USSR Trade Unions"**

[TRUD] Stepan Alekseyevich, first, what brought about the need to draw up this law?

[Shalayev] At the present stage, under conditions of extending socialist democracy and intensifying the economic independence of enterprises, undoubtedly, trade unions will have an increased role and responsibility for the state of affairs in labor collectives and for the conduct of an active social policy. But trade unions can only resolve the increasingly more complicated tasks within the framework of existing legislation, inasmuch as, entering into various legal relations with economic and state organs, they must rely not only on their own regulation rights, but also on the legal standards established by the state.

At the present time, legislatively the rights of trade unions are regulated fully only at the level of the trade committee at the primary organization, that is, at the enterprise, organization, or institution level. As for other trade union organs, their rights are determined only on certain questions in various standards acts, and in their operations they basically have to be guided by USSR Trade Union Regulations.

Those who drew up the draft law proceeded from the need to systematize the legislation that was in force, and also to broaden significantly the rights of trade unions in the area of labor, remuneration, protection, implementing protective functions, resolving socioeconomic, housing and everyday problems, and environmental protection. Proposals to strengthen the rights of trade unions at all levels in the legislative system were raised repeatedly at trade union meetings and conferences and at the 18th Trade Union Congress.

[TRUD] Why is the draft law named "On the Rights of USSR Trade Unions" and not simply "On USSR Trade Unions"?

[Shalayev] At first glance, it would seem really simpler to name the law "On USSR Trade Unions." But then it would establish not only the rights of trade unions, but, in the name of the state, it would also define their obligations. This cannot be allowed, to deprive the trade union of its independence as a social organization. The trade unions themselves establish their tasks and obligations in regulations they adopt and in the decisions of their congresses. Proceeding from this, the law on the rights of trade unions is created. . .

The trade unions and their rights, noted in the draft law, are not subject to registration in state organs. Their entire internal life, including the procedure for the enrollment of trade union members and their leaving it, is regulated by trade union regulations.

[TRUD] In drawing up the draft law were international practice and trade union rights positions taken into account?

[Shalayev] Absolutely. The draft law conforms to the international obligations of the USSR relative to the creation and activity of trade unions. The state must abstain from interfering in their activity and not impede the legal implementation of trade union rights. Nor are trade unions accountable to or under the control of state organs in the conduct of their financial activity. The activity of trade unions cannot be curtailed in an administrative procedure. According to international norms, the discharge of a citizen or other discrimination in connection with his belonging to a trade union is inadmissible. All of these conditions are in the draft law.

The organization of a trade union on the production principle, as the experience of the trade union movement in our country and abroad shows, is most effective and rationally adapted both to the aims of the trade union movement itself and to the requirements of production, especially under the new conditions of economic management. It is intended that the production principle of organization of trade unions will also be confirmed in the law, whose draft has been submitted for discussion.

At the same time, the draft emphasizes that the regulations of the trade unions and their activities cannot contradict the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws. All state and public organizations, including trade unions, must be equal before the high law.

As for the rights of USSR trade unions that are proposed in the draft, they are considerably broader in all of the basic sectors of their activity than, let us say, in countries in the West.

[TRUD] Naturally, it is impossible to comment today on all articles of the voluminous and content-filled draft law which has been submitted for consideration. What, in your opinion, are its main principled positions?

[Shalayev] As I have already noted, the draft law not only reflects actual norms at the present time, but, and this is the main thing, it envisions the expansion of a number of questions which the state organs can examine and decide only with the participation of the trade unions.

We are talking in the first place about those questions which arise in connection with the restructuring of the economy. It is proposed to consolidate in the legislative system such important, in our opinion, authority as, for example, the preliminary examination by appropriate trade union organizations of the economic and social development plans both of the Union SSR and the union republics; the obligation of organs of state administration to coordinate with trade unions the social norms for providing dwellings and other facilities of a nonindustrial nature, and also economic norms that define the conditions for profit distribution, education, and the use of economic incentive funds.

It was emphasized at the 18th USSR Trade Union Congress that trade unions must firmly resist the technocratic approach to economic management on questions connected with the guarantee of healthy and safe working conditions. This task could have been decided by granting trade unions the right to participate in the development of social norms on labor conditions and protection, to monitor how the requirements for the protection of labor during the development of new equipment and technology are observed, and not to permit the exclusion of the objectives of labor protection and the social sphere from the structure of starting complexes.

In connection with implementing the provisions of the Law on State Enterprises concerning the introduction of full cost accounting and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, part of the workers and employees are released in one or another collective. A new and vitally important task arises for trade unions due to the fact that in these situations an absolute guarantee must be attained for the effective employment of released workers and for an increase in their qualifications, and other social guarantees. This is why the rights of trade unions in this part, of course, must be broadened. We believe that measures for guaranteeing the full and effective employment of the population must be worked up and approved by the USSR Government jointly with the trade unions. Decisions on the elimination of enterprises, and also on partial or full suspension of production, which involves a reduction in work positions, can be undertaken, in our opinion, only with the consent of trade union organs.

In comparison with the legislation in force, the draft significantly broadens the rights of trade unions in their performance of social-protection functions. Trade unions are granted the right not only to verify adherence to labor legislation, but also the system of providing living space and legislation concerning environmental protection; and to apply administrative sanctions in the form of fines on guilty officials. A number of other very important and necessary rights are envisaged, which the laborers, trade union workers, and activists will be able to see for themselves.

[TRUD] There are indeed more than a few new statutes in the draft law aimed at strengthening the defense of the role of trade unions. It seems that in this plan, the statute on the suspension of administrative decisions by state, cooperative and economic organs will be extremely significant.

[Shalayev] The issue of granting trade unions of the USSR the right to suspend, in a number of cases, the implementation of administrative decisions is very important indeed. After all, the basic task of our trade unions is the defense of the workers' legal interests. This defense must not only be extended to individual workers and employees, but to the labor collectives, and to workers of a branch where their rights are being violated. We are speaking of suspension, not of revocation of the resolutions of state, cooperative and economic organs. Adoption of a final resolution for their revocation stipulates the appropriate procedure for examining the dispute with the participation of representatives of the state administration organs.

We suppose that the circle of issues within which the trade unions may exercise their new right must encompass all labor and housing rights of workers, as well as all cases when administrative decisions are made in violation of the legislation on the rights of trade unions.

[TRUD] What can you say about the rights of trade unions in the area of price formation?

[Shalayev] Retail prices and the system of payment for labor are highly important components of the population's standard of living, its real income.

It should be said that the trade unions have by tradition greatly concerned themselves with the issue of wages. Practically all decisions connected with determining the level of workers' wages, the concrete scale of workers' basic wage rates, the wages of specialists' professional posts, the various excess payments, coefficients and the conditions for material incentives are made with the direct participation and accordance of the trade unions. We need only better, more strictly and with more principle utilize these rights we now have.

At the same time, the state establishment of retail prices for the most important and vitally necessary foodstuffs and non-foodstuffs (bread, meat, milk, butter, fish, hulled and rolled products, sugar, clothing, shoes, everyday household items), as well as rates for the most socially significant services (payment for housing, transportation and electricity) can be realized under the existing legislation without the participation of the trade unions.

We, the leadership of the AUCCTU, naturally participate in determining the basic trends in the improvement of prices and rates, but this is on the basis of our own initiative and with the state's consent, and not on the basis of the law. Therefore, it should be established by legislation that changes in existing prices and confirmation of new prices for basic foodstuffs and non-foodstuffs must be accomplished by the USSR Government or by the union republic in accordance with the AUCCTU or the appropriate republic trade unions. This is very important.

And something else about one new right. Workers are now extraordinarily troubled by the practically uncontrolled growth in prices established directly by enterprises to keep up with cost accounting, while there is no improvement in the consumer features or quality of the goods. It has therefore been proposed that the trade union councils be granted the right, with the enlistment of price formation organs, to suspend the resolutions of enterprises on the designation of economically unfounded retail prices for consumer goods and rates for services to the populace. As far as prices established by cooperatives are concerned, if their increase is unfounded, the trade unions must have the right to raise the issues of terminating the activities of such cooperatives before the appropriate ispolkoms [executive committees] of the soviet of people's deputies.

[TRUD] The draft law stipulates granting the trade union committees the right to halt work at enterprises in certain cases. In what situations may a trade union committee exercise such an exclusive right?

[Shalayev] In the draft law, Article 29 determines the rights of trade unions in considering labor disputes. But here there must be a clarification. The procedure for considering labor disputes of individual workers and employees has long since been determined by law. We want to legislatively determine the rights of trade unions both in considering collective labor disputes between the collective and the administration, and in establishing the very procedure for their consideration.

And in those cases where the administration violates the legislatively established procedure for considering collective disputes whether by not fulfilling the agreement reached or the decisions made, then the trade union committee, representing the interests of the labor collective (as a party to the dispute), in our opinion, must have the right to halt work at the enterprise, in the organization or institution as a means of pressuring the administration to accelerate the resolution of the labor dispute.

Along with this, in order that incorrect conceptions not be formed, I want to immediately emphasize that the attitude of the trade unions to such conflicts connected with a halt in production is simple: We cannot view these as a normal phenomenon in our society.

First of all, because both the aforementioned economic organs, in relation to the enterprise, and the trade unions have sufficient rights and opportunities for the timely settlement of these collective disputes. Secondly, even a brief halt in work inflicts substantial material losses not only upon the enterprise itself and its collective, but upon other adjacent enterprises, and all society.

We see as our task the prediction of the emergence of collective labor disputes, realizing the sizeable rights granted to the trade unions. And the enterprises' trade union committees must exercise these rights in full measure for a firm and principled defense of the legal interests of the workers. The decision to halt work at an enterprise is an extreme measure which may be applied in particular, exclusive events.

[TRUD] Where is the significance of the supplemental guarantees to the trade union workers?

[Shalayev] The draft law stipulates the extension of the guarantee established by existing legislation to members of the trade union organs of any level in the event of the dismissal of the chairmen and members of the trade union committee. It is proposed that supplemental guarantees continue to be applied up to 2 years after the termination of the authority of the member of the voting trade union organs.

This is important because it provides for the genuine independence of trade union committee chairmen and members of voting trade union organs from the administration and other economic organs.

[TRUD] How will the discussion of the draft law be conducted in the country's trade unions?

[Shalayev] The AUCCTU Presidium adopted a resolution to conduct the discussion of the draft law in trade union organs and labor collectives over the course of 3 months: May through July of this year. We feel that this is sufficient time for the deep comprehension and discussion of the draft law and all of its positions within all links, starting with the trade union groups.

It is very important that every article of the draft and the necessity of expanding the rights of the trade unions be explained in an objective and qualified manner to all trade union members, workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] workers and employees. For these purposes, discussions will be conducted in collectives, meetings with the trade union aktiv, evenings for questions and answers; other forms of mass and individual work with people will be used, as well as the central and local press, radio and television.

Trade union meetings, trade union organ plenums or expanded presidium sessions should be dedicated to the discussion of the draft law.

It is desirable to draw into the explanation and discussion of the draft law members of the elected trade union organs of all levels, trade union workers, jurists and other specialists. We proposed to the members and candidate members of the AUCCTU and members of the trade union's central auditing committee that they take an active and direct role in this work. We do not expect the USSR people's deputies elected from the trade unions to stand idle either.

A consulting office has been opened in the AUCCTU for the explanation of the positions of the draft law. Every member of a trade union may come here for answers to the questions which interest him. It would be useful to open such offices in central committees and trade union councils for the period of discussion.

The trade unions are called upon to take pains so that the discussion is conducted in an atmosphere of broad glasnost, on a genuinely democratic basis, in a businesslike and constructive manner, and so that it is of a mass, so to speak, general trade union nature. Oblast, kray and republic trade union councils are entrusted to organize an account of the workers' proposals and comments in order to present them to the AUCCTU.

Of course, trade union members and all workers may direct their proposals and comments directly to the AUCCTU. Here, a special working group has been formed, headed by AUCCTU secretary V. N. Makeyev; with the assistance of specialists on the problems of the trade union movement, it will examine all proposals received from trade union members, workers and trade union organizations, as well as those published in the press, and will then present them to the AUCCTU Commission for the Completion of the Draft Law.

Apparently, during the discussion of the draft law there will also be proposals for the improvement of forms and methods of trade union activities and the norms of intra-trade union life. These proposals will be taken into consideration in the practical work of the AUCCTU and other trade union organs, as well as in the preparations for the regular accounts and elections in the USSR trade unions.

In conclusion, I want to appeal to all trade union members, workers, kolkhoz workers and employees with a request that they actively participate in the discussion on the draft law.

Electoral Commission Chairman on 14 May Elections

LD0405163189 Moscow TASS in English 1608 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa:

More than six people on average are competing for every seat on the revamped Soviet state legislature in new elections to be staged in 198 constituencies on May 14.

The voting will be held in 195 election districts where one or two candidates stood in the first round of balloting on March 26 but no-one was able to win a majority and in another three where the voter turnout on polling day was less than the required 50 per cent.

Speaking at a meeting of the Central Electoral Commission today, its Chairman Vladimir Orlov said that a total of 1,216 candidates have been registered for the new elections, including 743 in 114 territorial and the other 473 in 84 larger national-territorial districts.

A total of 91 per cent of the candidates are men, 85.4 per cent are party members, 20.5 per cent are workers and 4.9 per cent are collective farmers.

Besides, voting will be held in yet another territorial district where the newly-elected deputy died soon after March 26.

Voter activity still remains very high despite an unusually protracted campaign: One or two candidates have been registered in just 28 constituencies, while four or more in 127. In several districts more than 10 people are in the race for a single seat.

The largest numbers of candidates are in the national-territorial districts in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev and in Leningrad—33 and 34 respectively.

Lukyanov Attends Commission Meeting

LD0405201889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 May 89

[Excerpts] A further meeting of the Central Electoral Commission on the elections of USSR people's deputies was held today. It considered the results of the registration of candidate people's deputies for those constituencies where repeat elections will be held on 14 May. [passage omitted]

Comrade Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and representatives of the mass information media took part in the meeting.

More Reports on Tbilisi 9 Apr Rally Repercussions

Names of Tbilisi Victims Published

18300565b Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Apr 89 p 4

[Report by the Ministry of Health Care of the Georgian SSR]

[Text] According to the data of the Ministry of Health Care of the Georgian SSR, on 9 April the following citizens died on site in the course of suppressing disturbances at the square in front of the Government House:

Adamiya Aza Razhdenovna, 22, a student at the GPI [Georgian Technical University], from Gegechkorskiy Rayon,

Bezhanishvili Eka Tamazovna, 16, student in the 10th grade at Komarov School,

Giorgadze Nato Alekseyevna, 23, from Chokhataurskiy Rayon,

Dzhangirashvili Nodar Shotayevich, 40, instructor at the "Sinatle" Sports Club,

Dzhincharadze Mziya Mikhaylovna, 43, physician at the Psychiatry Research Institute,

Dolidze Tamuna Grigoryevna, 28, from Tbilisi,

Yenukidze Tina Severyanovna, 70, from Tbilisi, Kikvidze Zaira Abelovna, 61, employee of the Research Institute of Cybernetics,

Loladze Manana Levanovna, 33, from Tbilisi,

Mamulashvili Tamara Ivanovna, 50, from Tbilisi,

Nozadze Mamuka Giviyevich, 22, from Lagodekhskiy Rayon,

Samarguliani-Chkoniya Marina Tristanovna, 35, from Tbilisi,

Samarguliani Nana Aleksandrovna, 30, from Tbilisi,

Toidze Nino Shukrieyevna, 25, employee of the All-Union Research and Production Association for Tea, Subtropical Crops, and the Tea Industry, from Makharadzevskiy Rayon,

Chipashvili Eliso Georgiyevna, 25, a hospital attendant at the Republic Hospital,

Chovelidze Tamriko Arkadyevna, 16, a student of School No 51 in Tbilisi.

On 11 April, the following died in the hospital of the injuries sustained:

Karseladze Giya Georgiyevich, 25, employee of the Tbilisi Forestry Enterprise,

Melkadze Manana Amiranovna, 23, from Tbilisi.

The results of forensic investigations will be published.

Jounalists Support Medical Experts

PM0805161589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Apr 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Georgia's Journalists Demand!"]

[Text] On 24 April there was an open meeting of the Georgian Union of Journalists party organization which also brought together most correspondents of central newspapers.

I. Menagarishvili, Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] minister of health, and Prof Z. Kakhiani were invited to the meeting.

The party meeting naturally also attracted a certain proportion of journalists. It held a frank discussion of the tragic events of 9 April in Tbilisi. It was unanimously noted that these phenomena were covered very tendentiously by the all-union press and television. There is particular anger at the false information in the newspapers KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA, the "Vremya" news program, and others....

I. Menagarishvili and Z. Kakhiani told journalists of the work being carried out by the republic's medical service to improve the victims' state of health. The public, they noted, must be informed of the fact that both instant- and delayed-action toxins were used on Rustaveli Prospekt. This is also attested by the fact that people with symptoms of poisoning are still seeking assistance at Tbilisi medical institutions.

There was particular anger at the fact that, despite repeated appeals from the republic's Ministry of Health and the public commission of medical experts, the command of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] troops is refusing to name the type of toxin used in Tbilisi and, what is more, totally denies that toxins were used at all.

This downright disinformation aimed at covering up the tracks of a crime is a blow to the cause of restructuring.

The mother of a poisoned youth was brought into the meeting hall and persuasively asked those present to do something to save the lives of her son and the many other young people lying in the hospital with him....

The guests familiarized the journalists with an appeal to the USSR prosecutor general, whose text is cited below:

To Comrade A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR Prosecutor General

Copies to: Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Temporary Commission To Investigate the Tragic Events of 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi; Moscow Public Commission To Assist the Georgian Public in Investigating the 9 April Events; the mass news media; USSR Defense Ministry; USSR MVD.

A Public Commission of Medical Experts consisting of specialist medics and representatives of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, public and informal organizations, and the workers and intelligentsia of Georgia was set up under the Georgian SSR Ministry of Health to study the circumstances connected with the tragic consequences of the dispersal of the peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989, as a result of which many totally innocent people were killed and injured.

When analyzing the clinical picture of injuries to the victims the incontestable conclusion was reached that unknown chemical toxins had been used to disperse the rally.

With the help of eminent specialists—Prof Ye.A. Luzhnikov, leader of the All-Union Center for the Treatment of Acute Poisoning (Moscow); M.M. Potskhveriya, scientific staffer at that center and candidate of medical sciences; and Prof Yu.I. Musiychuk, chief of the clinical department at the USSR Ministry of Health Hygiene and Occupational Pathology Research Institute (Leningrad)—it proved possible to establish the groups of substances in question. They also established a diagnosis of "acute poisoning with irritant gases and parasympatholytic agents" of varying degrees of gravity, in some instances serious.

In the process of studying the causes of death and the nature of the victims' injuries, the following circumstances, which aroused anger and indignation among the members of the commission and require your immediate and principled intervention, were revealed:

1. The fact was established that wounds were inflicted on the rally participants with sharp objects, in one case the outcome being death as a result of a gash to the head.

2. On the basis of the findings of expert toxicologists, and also the observations of clinicians and analysis of the data from many days' observations of persons undergoing inpatient treatment and persons who have received outpatient treatment at the toxicology center in Tbilisi—over 600 people in all—we believe it possible to state with the utmost clarity that toxins with a parasympatholytic action on the central nervous system were used in addition to tear gases in dispersing a peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi on 9 April 1989.

The use of such substances, especially in conditions conducive to their action in high concentrations, can lead both to death and to delayed grave complications mainly in the nervous and cardiovascular systems. We believe that the use of any chemical toxins against participants in peaceful demonstrations or rallies is impermissible and inhumane!

3. There is particular emotional pain and perplexity at the fact that, despite repeated appeals to representatives of the command of the Transcaucasus Military District and the USSR MVD troops to provide information on the toxins that were used so that the victims could receive specific, purposeful treatment, representatives of the Transcaucasus Military District refused on the grounds that no chemical weapons are among the Soviet Army's authorized standard-issue equipment. And representatives of the USSR MVD troops, under the pressure of incontrovertible proof, admitted using only chloracetophenone (tear gas), stating that its effects last only 15 minutes, though slight traces of poisoning may be recorded for no more than 6 hours, vanishing without trace upon the victims' health. Thus they ruled out the need to carry out specific treatment. However, in the light of the objective data available today the statement by representatives of the MVD troops' command should be regarded as disinformation aimed at covering up criminal facts.

Clearly it is no accident that the newspapers KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (organ of the USSR Defense Ministry) and LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA (organ of the Transcaucasus Military District), in describing the events of 9 April in Tbilisi, have totally denied that toxins and entrenching tools were used, thus making out that the reports of the use of toxins are not a reflection of real events but are fabricated by certain representatives of the local population with a view to inflaming nationalist feeling.

The commission believes that the causes of the victims' death and the nature of their injuries are evidence of the anticonstitutional, illegal nature of the actions of the troop subunits that took part in dispersing the peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi on the night of 8-9 April 1989.

The responsibility for these crimes lies wholly with the organizers of the violent action.

[Signed] Members of the Public Commission of Medical Experts:
Archil Abesadze, physician, Rustaveli Society; Candidate of Medical Sciences Mikhail Vashakidze, chief toxicologist at the Georgian SSR Ministry of Health; Prof Vladimir Gabashvili, neuropathologist; Zaur Gomarteli, Georgian Union of Journalists; Academician Otar Gudushauri, traumatologist and USSR people's deputy; Candidate of Medical Sciences Ramaz Guladze, People's Front; Tamar Dekanosidze, anatomical pathologist and corresponding member of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; Nino Dzhavakhishvili, academician of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; Malkhaz Zaalishvili, academician of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; Koba Imedashvili, critic and member of the Georgian Union of Writers; Prof Zaal Kakhiani, surgeon; Eteri Kemertelidze, corresponding member of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; Gorda Kipiani, worker; Doctor of Medical Sciences Gela Lezhava, narcologist; Candidate of Medical Sciences Temur Lomaya, representing I. Chavchavadze Society; Bidzina Naneishvili, psychiatrist and academician of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences; Iza Ordzhonikidze, poet, Rustaveli Society; Otari Sarishvili, student at the medical institute; Konstantin Sakhvadze, student at the medical institute; Prof Otar Sizua, neurosurgeon; Givi Tumanishvili, corresponding member of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, People's Front; Prof Zaza Topuriya, anatomical pathologist, Rustaveli Society; Revaz Khonelidze, surgeon; Doctor of Medical Sciences Guram Khutsishvili, hematologist, People's Front; Prof Bidzina Chumburidze, pharmaceutical chemist.

In the name of the republic's journalists the open meeting of the Georgian Union of Journalists party organization wholly supports the appeal from the members of the public commission of medical experts and, publishing it in republican newspapers, awaits an immediate response from the leadership of the USSR MVD and the USSR Union of Journalists.

Victims' Medical Treatment Outlined

PM0805141189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 25 Apr 89 p 3

[Ketevan Amiredzhibi report: "Strategy and Tactics of Treatment"]

[Text] Victims of 9 April are receiving all-around medical assistance in a well-organized fashion as inpatients at the No 2 Hospital and Polyclinic of a Georgian Health Ministry Main Administration.

April 24. Before noon three patients come to the admissions department showing, so medics note, symptoms of poisoning that emerged 10-12 days after the tragedy. There are also so-called amnesiac phenomena—memory lapses and losses of voice—and breathing difficulties.

"There are 60 victims in our hospital-polyclinic, 52 of whom have been transferred from other hospitals and clinics in the city," chief physician T. Kalandadze reports. "Doctors have thus had far more opportunity to observe the condition of the patients, to intensify the treatment process, and to involve our best medical cadres in it."

Indeed, Georgian Academy of Sciences Academician B. Naneyshvili, V. Bochorishvili and G. Gurgenidze, corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Profs Z. Kakhiani, A. Lachkepiani, Sh. Gamkrelidze, and T. Kavtaradze, senior lecturer O. Koridze, and many others are helping with consultations.

The doctors' work does not let up for even a minute. A nurse wheels a drug trolley out of the treatment room and hurries off to a ward. The door of another ward is half-open—several doctors are in there examining patients.

I talk with the doctors. Specialists have identified in the main several pathological indications among the victims of the toxins—gastroenterological (gastrointestinal), bronchial, neurological, and cardiological. It emerges that it is these zones of the human organism that were most severely affected by the toxins.

"The course of the illness is sometimes cyclical," G. Beradze, chief of the department and candidate of medical sciences, explains. "For instance, for a day the patient's nervous system may behave in an 'exemplary' fashion, crudely speaking, but then he suddenly develops a headache, vertigo, and tormenting insomnia....

"There are now 48 victims in the department," G. Beradze continues. "The condition of most of them is not giving rise to concern, although there are some far from simple cases like, for instance, the burn on the tongue of one woman patient resulting from direct contact with toxic chemicals. But her condition is improving now."

The tactics for medical assistance to the victims are constantly changing. Whereas in preceding days the emphasis was on detoxification methods of treatment, so-called symptomatic or rehabilitation treatment—physiotherapy, massage, exercise therapy, and so forth—is now becoming increasingly important. Medication is also being employed.

"Doctors have all the necessary medications," E. Gaprindashvili, chief of the Main Administration's No 2 Pharmacy, says. "The delivery of medication and drugs is very efficient."

On the morning of 24 April a consultation involving eminent public health specialists from the republic was held in the office of T. Kalandadze, chief physician at the hospital-polyclinic.

"Treatment is being conducted on a large scale, in the classic way," A. Glonti, Georgian first deputy health minister, who chaired the consultation, said. It has been decided to hold consultations daily to monitor the whole process of treatment.

Toxicologist on Chemicals Used

PM0805140589 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 3

[Dzhilda Ivanishvili report incorporating interview with Mikhail Vashakidze, chief toxicologist with the Georgian Ministry of Health: "High Dosage Affects Organism"]

[Text] Chloroacetophenone was one of the chemical substances used to help disperse the participants in the unauthorized 9 April rally in Tbilisi. To be specific, this was the toxic substance used against demonstrators who had taken refuge in the Sh. Rustaveli Georgian State Theater Institute, where several people suffered the effects of poisoning on that tragic night.

As is known, they are in the Republic Clinical Hospital, as, incidentally, are those who received a substantial dose of poisoning 12 days later—21 April. On that day experts went to the Theater Institute and took samples of the air, remnants of food (sugar, coffee) which had been left in uncovered containers, fragments of cotton and woolen fabrics, and so forth. Only after that was decontamination work carried out at the institute.

We visited the Republic Chemical Hygiene Laboratory of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Health, where these samples were analyzed before our very eyes.

We asked laboratory chief Mikhail Vashakidze, chief toxicologist with the republic Ministry of Health and meritorious physician of Georgia, to give a toxicological assessment of this toxic substance:

[Vashakidze] Chloroacetophenone has long been known to toxicologists as a toxic substance. According to the reference material, it has a harmful effect on the human organism depending on the concentration. High doses of chloroacetophenone not only cause eye irritation, coughing, and headache but can also seriously damage organs.

A fact cited in the scientific literature should evidently be remembered here. German troops twice used this toxic substance against Entente troops during World War I. On both occasions the consequences were tragic—several thousand soldiers suffered severe poisoning. Since then it has not been used in military operations.

But now, when our country is in the vanguard of the destruction of chemical weapons in the world, somebody took it into their head to use a toxic substance to disperse a peaceful demonstration. This has to be assessed as a treacherous stab in the back for restructuring. Furthermore, the 9 April tragedy discredits our Army—whether we are talking about Ministry of Internal Affair internal troops or military units—in the eyes of today's young people, particularly those with military service ahead of them. Time after time during the war I witnessed brave exploits by our soldiers, who selflessly defended every inch of their native soil, sometimes at the cost of their lives. It is blasphemy to use for such unsavory ends the devotion to the motherland felt by the Soviet soldier, who is ready to carry out any order for its benefit. This is totally at variance with our ideas of a genuinely people's army. Those who used sapper shovels and toxic substances against unarmed people on the night of 8-9 April have nothing in common with this. I would describe them as coming from another world which is alien to us Soviet people.

As a member of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Commission investigating what happened, I will do everything to ensure that the truth triumphs. Those to blame for the tragedy must be duly punished. This is a demand of the times set by the restructuring and democratization of our entire society.

Symptoms of Poisoning Persist

PM0905094589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Own correspondent N. Mikeladze dispatch: "Finding a Clear Answer"; final two paragraphs are editorial note]

[Text] Tbilisi—For many days a bright carpet of flowers covered the square in front of Government House in Tbilisi. They were brought by the tens of thousands of Tbilisi inhabitants and guests of the Georgian capital who went there to honor the memory of the victims of the tragic night of 9 April. But then the first, most difficult days after the loss passed. People proposed reconstructing the square and establishing a monument there to the dead. They decided to take the flowers away....

"On the day when the flowers were removed, around 60 people ended up in our hospitals with acute poisoning," First Deputy Health Minister A.O. Glonti told me. "Several young people were even comatose. The poisoning was caused by chemicals."

Some chemical compounds causing certain symptoms had already been found in school and theatrical institute buildings not far from the square. Now chemical compounds have been found in the flowers.

Thus there is more evidence from that night. The republic's Health Ministry has repeatedly stated that the use of chemical weapons against the rally participants cannot be doubted. This was confirmed by highly qualified specialists sent to Georgia by the USSR Health Ministry immediately after the dramatic events.

Representatives of the Army law and order forces also admitted this fact. But it was only a partial admission: They said that tear gas and irritants had been used. However, toxicology specialists indicate that the symptoms clearly shown by the victims do not fit the clinical picture of the effect of the irritant group of substances. Two forms of poisoning, including poisoning by parasympatholytic agents—that is, atropinic agents—have been precisely diagnosed.

Around 2,000 people went to Tbilisi hospitals with complaints of poisoning. In many instances it was a false alarm, but there were also repeat visits, after which the doctors were left in no doubt: The symptoms of poisoning are cyclical. The substances used have a prolonged effect. Right now there are 230 people in hospital with symptoms of poisoning. Eight of them remain in a serious condition.

These patients occupy upper floors at the republic Health Ministry Fourth Administration's No 2 Hospital. And on the second floor, eight guys have been living for a week in Room 210. They are perfectly healthy. They have gone on hunger strike.

"We simply decided to 'substitute' for the patients," Rezo explained. "You see, they are in a very complex psychological and physical state. And when they announced that they would go on hunger strike until representatives of the International Red Cross arrived and until the person in question discovers the composition of the toxic substance, we friends decided to dissuade them and to act ourselves. Our conditions are the same...."

In assessing this entire situation, which is not amenable to ordinary logic, one cannot fail to notice how often we are less well informed about our own affairs than the rest of the world is. The foreign public know about the chemical poisoning in Tbilisi and all the "radio voices" and international public organizations have been informed. It cannot be said that all our people are keeping quiet. According to a proposal made by the chairman of the Union of the USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee, an International Red Cross delegation will arrive very soon in Tbilisi. But here, in Georgia's capital, there are people's deputies who are making efforts to resolve this problem once and for all. Leading military specialists also arrived a week ago. But the composition of the substances which caused serious contamination still remains a secret. People are being treated with the best known methods and medicines. But we need to know what the people were poisoned with in order to treat them more effectively.

From the Editorial Office. As this issue was going to press, we found out that Georgian Health Minister I.A. Menagarishvili has reported that fresh information has been received on the chemicals used. We hope that this will help the patients.

On 9 April CS gas was used along with other substances. It has been used previously in other countries to disperse demonstrations.

Foreign Newsmen Briefed on Events

PM0805142789 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 27 Apr 89 p 3

[GRUZINFORM report: "At the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] As already reported, the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration has sent two groups of foreign journalists accredited in Moscow to Tbilisi in connection with the tragic 9 April events. They include television company and press representatives from the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Britain, the United States, France, and the FRG.

The foreign journalists met with G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee. They had talks with V. Kvaratskheliya, secretary of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet commission to investigate the circumstances of what happened in Tbilisi on 9 April; T. Shavgulidze, leader of the republic Academy of Sciences State and Law Research Center, and other commission members; I. Menagarishvili, Georgian SSR minister of health; and N. Cherkezivshvili and A. Ioseliani, editors of the republic newspapers KOMUNISTI and ZARYA VOSTOKA. The guests visited treatment centers where people hurt during the tragedy are being treated and spoke with them.

The journalists received exhaustive answers to all questions relating to the republic's sociopolitical life and the 9 April events.

Estonian Deputies Condemn Chemicals

PM0905112989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

["Statement" signed by USSR People's Deputies From Estonia]

[Text] The USSR people's deputies from Estonia resolutely condemn the use of Soviet Armed Forces units against the population. We are deeply indignant at the acts of violence on the streets of Tbilisi and the use of chemical weapons. Not least because in the international arena the Soviet Government is demanding a ban on the use and production of these weapons and is also advocating the destruction of all chemical weapons stocks.

We believe that actions of this kind—for whatever reason and whatever aim—are illegal, from the legal, moral, and human viewpoints.

We believe that these acts have undermined trust in our peaceful disarmament policy, our building of a rule-of-law state, and in the moral foundations of our Armed Forces.

We mourn their irrevocable losses today with the people of Georgia and pledge to use our status as USSR people's deputies to legislatively exclude the possibility of this happening again in the future.

[Signed] People's Deputies from Estonia.
28 April 1989, Tallinn.

Tbilisi Commandant 11 Apr Address

18300565a Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Apr 89 p 3

[Address by Colonel General I. N. Rodionov, military commandant of Tbilisi: "Address to the Citizens and Working People of Tbilisi"]

[Text] Comrades! I, Colonel General I. N. Rodionov, have been appointed military commandant of Tbilisi.

Esteemed comrades, working people and citizens of the city of Tbilisi!

In recent days, the leaders of extremist informal groups succeeded in aggravating the situation in Tbilisi where non-sanctioned meetings of an anti-Soviet nature were held for several days in a row. The normal pace of life in the capital was virtually disrupted; the operation of colleges and many high schools was brought to a standstill. Excited groups of citizens in front of enterprises and organizations in different areas of the city attempted to bring their operation to a halt, and appealed to labor collectives with a call to go on strike.

Various kinds of misinformation are being spread; participants in the meetings were instigated to take part in activities contravening the law, and disturbances. Particular indignation was caused by individual instructors drawing [college] students and schoolchildren into processions and meetings, which greatly harms their study and moral upbringing. It is known that this is resolutely denounced, and an end is put to it in any civilized state.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia reviewed the emerging situation at a meeting of the party aktiv, which has set forth and begun to implement the measures necessary to stabilize the situation;

the address by the Cental Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to Communists, all working people, and young people of the republic was adopted.

However, despite the measures taken by party, Soviet, and law enforcement agencies, and appeals for moderation and prudence, the situation did not only fail to improve, but instead became extremely threatening and fraught with unpredictable consequences. Cases of overt resistance to the authorities, and the incidence of humiliating the dignity of servicemen maintaining public order became more frequent. Activities contravening the law have essentially assumed the nature of a confrontation with the law and the authorities.

The lack of political maturity, ambitions, and demagoguery made it possible for the organizers of disturbances to provoke a dramatic situation, which entailed casualties, on the night of 8 to 9 April in front of the building of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR.

We express our deeply felt condolences to all the families, relatives, and loved ones of the dead. The blame for this fully devolves on the extremist provocateurs.

The situation which has emerged cannot be tolerated. We cannot permit anarchy and lawlessness.

Under these conditions, only one chance remains—the path of resolute resistance to the provocateurs drawing the populace into violating the law. We cannot allow socialist values to be put to the test by irresponsible elements.

By a decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, a curfew is imposed in the city of Tbilisi as of 23:00 hours on 9 April with a view to ensuring the normal operation of public transit, enterprises, and organizations, as well as maintaining due order in the city and the adjacent areas.

To this end, an array of special measures is introduced regulating the life and activities of the citizens of Tbilisi, and the work of educational establishments, enterprises, and other social organizations:

1. The entry to Tbilisi is restricted for all persons not registered as residents of the city, except for those specifically delegated here and carrying passes, as well as those arriving on intercity trains and Aeroflot craft.

Agencies of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] will establish control checkpoints for entry into the city.

2. Between 23:00 and 6:00, free pedestrian traffic throughout the city is discontinued, except for persons carrying special passes.

3. Beginning on 10 April, the operation of Soviet, cooperative and social organizations, service and public catering facilities will begin at 7:00 and end no later then 22:00.

4. The hours of operation of public transit will be set as follows:
—subway and the depot of trolleys and streetcars from 6:00 to 22:00;
—highway transportation from 6:00 to 23:00, except for cars carrying special passes.

5. All citizens arriving in the city in order to trade in the market should carry passports or identity cards, and should leave the city by 23:00.

6. Non-sanctioned gatherings, processions, demonstrations, and meetings are prohibited.

7. It is prohibited to keep firearms, explosive objects, and incendiary mixes in apartments and other places.

8. In order to ensure the uninterrupted operation of enterprises and offices in the city, all working people are obligated to report to work unconditionally, and discharge their civic responsibilities.

Managers of ministries, departments, enterprises, and offices are to be made responsible for and supervise the maintenance of labor discipline.

9. Executive committees of the rayon soviets of the city of Tbilisi, in cooperation with the employees of the internal affairs agencies, will organize the review of [compliance with] the passport regulations, and, for the duration of the curfew, will additionally carry out inspections of basements and attics and second-home areas, and when necessary apprehend and search suspects.

10. All local agencies of state authority, state and social establishments, organizations, and enterprises must render all aid to the military command in maintaining public order and security.

11. In accordance with the legislation in effect, all citizens who have failed to comply with the instructions and orders of military and local authorities, and have insulted the persons enforcing the curfew by word or by deed, are subject to administrative and criminal penalties.

12. Executive committees of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the city and the military commandant are to be put in charge of executing these measures.

I appeal to the working people, to the Communists, to the intelligentsia, and to young people of the city of Tbilisi with a call to remain calm in these difficult days, to resist provocation, comply strictly with the demands of the curfew, and do all that is necessary in order to restore order and organization.

I believe that the hard-working people of Georgia, with rich history and selfless labor under their belt, will interpret these extraordinary measures correctly.

Pushkin Square 23 Apr Demonstration Described

18000949 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[Comments by A. Mosesov and S. Mariyev: "Pushkin Square"]

[Text] **"We have never seen such an audacious and noisy meeting in Moscow." This is how deputy chief of the public law and order administration of the internal affairs main administration under the Moscow gorispolkom [city executive committee], Colonel of Militia Feklichev, described the unsanctioned meeting that took place on 23 April on Pushkin Square.**

Facts....

The latest briefing on 38 Petrovka was devoted to this meeting, organized by the "democratic alliance" but not sanctioned by the Moscow soviet. According to the militia, there were more than 7,000 people on the square on Sunday—most of them simply curiosity seekers who happened to be passing by, of which there are always many in the center of the capital. The most active of them were about 300 demonstrators.

In the words of the deputy chief of the Moscow gorispolkom internal affairs main administration, L. Belyanskiy, a detachment of special militia started to cut short the meeting when the situation threatened to become uncontrollable, and only after repeated warnings. As a result 71 people were detained. But this did not bring the meeting to an end. Some of those who had gathered moved along Tverskiy Boulevard toward the Arbat and completed their demonstration near the premises housing the Georgian cultural and information center. The choice of site was not fortuitous, for in pamphlets distributed by "democratic alliance" activists it was stated that the meeting was devoted to the tragic events in Tbilisi on the night of 8-9 April.

After most people had left Pushkin Square there were no militia sanctions against them, although the situation was constantly monitored. And it was particularly essential at that moment: The fact is that obvious hooligan elements were trying to take advantage of the situation to organize disorders. The consequences of that would have been unpredictable.

"They obviously wanted to push us into special means," G. Feklichev thinks. "But the militia workers acted skillfully and did not succumb to the provocation, even though it was very difficult for them—6 hours of constant tension had to exact their toll."

It remains to add that some of those detained were released with a warning while others were subjected to administrative arrest for 5, 7, 10, 15, or 25 days. Monetary fines were also imposed, from R20 to R1,000. In the case of five demonstrators the question of making them criminally liable was considered. These included the not unknown V. Novodvorskaya and I. Tsarkov from the "democratic alliance," two students and an engineer.

Those detained included people not only from Moscow city and oblast but also from the Baltic area, Leningrad, Odessa, and even Irkutsk.

A. Mosesov.

Opinions....

Having learned about the events on Pushkin Square I would like to share my own personal impressions.

In the winter of last year I took part in the work of an open discussion club called "Peace and Human Rights," which regularly, once a month, on Thursdays, is held in the Soviet Peace Committee. The open tribune has provided broad opportunities for the expression of various viewpoints.

The statements by the not unknown S. Grigoryants, who organized publication of the independent journal GLASNOST, and, in particular, of the representative of the so-called "democratic alliance," Ye. Debryanskaya, who read a previously prepared statement, attracted attention. They contained everything: overthrow, liquidate, strike out.... In short: Down with everything and everyone! And here, as they say, with passion....

Yes, restructuring has awakened all sorts of things, including this. And it cannot be ignored.

I remember that most foreign guests had nothing to do with the speeches of this "lady of politics." Only one of them (a Dutch gentleman, it seems) generously "praised" her inexhaustible energy.

...Now, to judge from the press reports and later events, the so-called "democratic alliance" has moved on from shameless statements to shameless actions. Why, we ask, are meetings being arranged now when a commission on the events in Georgia has already been set up and when the investigation of the affair has engaged the attention of high party leaders and the USSR people's deputies? To provoke more clashes? Perhaps they are counting on this. A true gaponovshchina.... [a reference to tsarist attempts to deflect workers from revolutionary struggle by setting up government-controlled workers' organizations]. I personally have no doubts about this. It would be a good thing to compute the "path" trodden by this bellicose "alliance" over the past year and what we can expect from it in the near future. However, in this analysis we need not only this organization but also the other extremists. If the dark forces that have broken through under the mask of restructuring and have but one goal—to distract people from real work in restructuring our society as it deserves—are not controlled in good time, then all our plans may be frustrated.

[Signed] S. Mariyev, war veteran, litterateur.

Former Member Describes Democratic Union Policy

PM0505110189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 89 pp 2-3

[Letter from Engineer Andrey Voronov under the "Face to Face" rubric: "Enough Mistakes!"; first five paragraphs and final two paragraphs are I. Sidorov comments]

[Text] The last item about the activity of the "Democratic Union" ["DS"] ("What Happened Outside the Kazanskiy Cathedral?" in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 14 March) gave rise to a flood of readers' letters.

We will be frank about one fact. The majority of the letters are in defense of the DS. This can undoubtedly be partly explained by the fact that recently it is almost exclusively DS supporters, whose circle is quite narrow, who have been writing to us about its activity. We know almost by name the individual defenders of the "party" who write us letters, although it looks as though the majority of the city's inhabitants have simply grown tired of the subject...

Actually, not everyone thinks this way. "Despite all the endeavors of the Communist press, the DS' prestige is growing among people," garden worker I. Vasilyev, who has a university diploma, writes to us. "Their influence is growing partly because the more the Communists throw mud at the DS, the more the people disbelieve the Communists..."

We have no intention of trying to convince I. Vasilyev of anything. Let us merely note that the DS has been unable to refute a single one of the facts cited in our publications. In today's publication, so that no one can suspect us of the desire to cast aspersions on worthy people for no purpose, we give the floor to a man who joined the "DS" because of his convictions and who left it also because of his convictions.

The author's surname and first name are genuine. He gives them so that there should be no doubt as to the authenticity of this document.

I am Andrey Voronov, an engineer at a Leningrad Scientific Research Institute and former member of the "DS" political opposition party, of which I was a member for over a year.

I did not immediately form the desire to write this letter. It was the result of a long, complex analysis of everything which has happened in my life recently. Restructuring has shaken us all and has taken us out of our long, lethargic sleep. Very many people have been eager for action, immediate action aimed at reshaping our life as soon as possible. Many people have rushed and are rushing into the stormy current of sociopolitical life without realizing that this elemental force is deceptive, that there are maelstroms, reefs, and underwater currents in it.

So far I had not taken any active part in our society's political life, as I do not belong to the CPSU, my opportunities were restricted. Everything was decided for me. My voice was needed only during voting at elections to the soviets. The policy of glasnost opened my eyes to a great deal: critical problems in the economy, errors, and crimes of the past. My reaction in response to all this was to take a personal part in our country's public life.

In February last year a friend of mine told me that a branch of the Moscow organization "for establishing trust between East and West" existed in our city. He was acquainted with Ye. Podoltseva, one of the leaders of the Leningrad branch, and, sensing that I was interested in the prospects of the people's diplomacy, gave me her home telephone number.

My telephone conversation with Yekaterina Podoltseva was brief. On 23 February, on Soviet Army Day, members of the "Trust" group prepared to carry out their latest action—a demonstration against the Soviet troops' participation in the events in Afghanistan. I found out later that the action had been conceived from the outset as aimed at confrontation with the organs of power. Ye. Podoltseva invited me to take part in it too.

The "event" was brief. Two young men unfurled banners, the militia approached, several people, including myself, were arrested and taken to the militia department and released after investigation. At the time I was surprised at the youth of the boys who unfurled the banners, but did not attach any special importance to it. And it was only some time later that I accidentally found out that this had been thought up by Ye. Podoltseva. The calculation was that the militia would be unable to apply serious sanctions against minors if one of them—as he stated at the militia—was moreover on the register of a psychoneurological clinic... Subsequently the method of these "props" was often practiced during actions on the city streets and caused no condemnation among us.

This first and it may be said fortuitous clash with the militia created in me a sense of a real political struggle. I had a very vague idea of what we were struggling for and against whom, but my seeming involvement in politics turned my head, praticularly since foreign voices would occasionally mention the Leningrad "Trust" group and their commentaries were actively discussed at our meetings. From 20 to 40 people would gather once a week in Ye. Podoltseva's apartment. It was called a seminar.

Political, economic, historical, and philosophical problems were discussed. They were led by Yevdokimov and Dolinin from the Leningrad branch of the international human rights society and guests came from Moscow: Debryanskaya, Lukashov, and others (future leaders of the "DS").

They had all suffered in some way at the authorities' hands in the past, it was reflected in their views. They saw nothing in the country's past and present except dark spots and they did not imagine the future without a radical change in the social and political system existing in our country. These people seemed to me at the time to be serious and profound, surrounded by the halo of the dissidents' movement of the "stagnation years." The audience listening to their speeches was motley and varied. They were mainly young and idle students who had not completed their studies, people halfway to being traffickers, almost Bohemian young people from the "Saigon" and "Rome" cafes.

From the middle of April the seminar's activity began to be sharply politicized. Visitors from Moscow became more frequent. The seminars discussed, in a narrow circle, the question of preparing for a "congress." It was planned to unite the scattered groups of "Trust" branches which already existed in various cities, under the flag of a single organization or possibly party. The majority of us had no idea what the new party might be like, but we welcomed the principle of a multiparty system with enthusiasm.

In early May 1988 this congress took place in Moscow. It adopted the decision to create the "DS" political opposition party. About 10 Leningraders who had traveled to the capital returned in a state of elation. In May over 30 people from among the "habitues" of the "Trust" seminars had already joined the "DS." There were no conditions at all for admittance to the "DS". We simply signed applications and filled in something on printed forms and handed them to Ye. Podoltseva. That was all. These indulgences over admission extended to far from everyone. Some people were summoned to meetings for the sake of form and were heard at the coordinating council, our working organ. In brief, "internal party democracy" was selective.

But none of us paid attention to such trivia. We were intoxicated by the possibility of saying what we wanted and building various projects for restructuring society. Sometimes we were so enthralled by this that we failed to notice how we were divorcing ourselves from reality and our appeals, programs, and addresses were losing their real content, increasingly acquiring the nature of mere slogans. I understand now that this happened because our movement had no social support. Sometimes we were so carried away by it that we failed to notice how we were becoming divorced from reality and our appeals, programs, and addresses were losing their real content, increasingly acquiring the nature of mere slogans. I understand now that this happened because our movement had no social foundation and in its programs the "DS" leadership was geared toward some elusive, vague group of people whom it called "those who hold dear the ideals of democracy."

The party's actions reflected the personal interests of a small group of "DS" activists who, having headed the movement, sought to raise their prestige in the eyes of the West and show it that "democratic forces"—the continuers of the ideas of the dissident movement of previous years—were alive and operating in the country.

It is therefore not surprising that chaos and confusion reigned in our programs. This applied particularly to economic problems. Indeed who could in fact create an integral concept? The movement's professional reserves in the field of the basic problems of our society's development were, alas, negligible. Representatives of the Moscow "DS" and our Leningrad leaders, Ye. Podoltseva and V. Terekhov, demanded vigorous actions. We had to make ourselves known and draw public attention toward the opposition party which was being created in the country. But how? To this end it was decided at a meeting in May to organize a meeting outside the Kazanskiy Cathedral.

We knew the meeting had not been authorized by the authorities. The roles of those who were to take part in this action had been discussed in advance. The calculation was to embark on acute aggravation, on open confrontation, and thus announce ourselves out loud. The meeting was timed to coincide with the discussion of the draft "provisional rules" on demonstrations, processions, and so forth. Everything turned out as we wanted. A crowd of thousands gathered outside the cathedral, most of them passers by from Nevskiy Prospekt. The militia asked people to disperse, but we did everything to stop that from happening.

The voluntary militia and the militia detained about 30 people and correspondents and tourists filmed us with video cameras and took photographs. That made us even bolder. In general, there was a noisy brawl outside the Kazanskiy Cathedral. The "DS" propagandists frequently mentioned it. That is how things are in our country with respect to democracy and human rights, they would say. Ye. Podoltseva said that during meetings with U.S. diplomats from the general consulate she once boasted: "Look, the city has been aroused!" The diplomats merely shrugged skeptically: We can't see anything special yet, they said.

The "DS" leaders reckoned that the method of unsanctioned meetings in crowded places was so successful that it was worth repeating regularly, as it reminded people that the "DS" was alive and active. To this day noisy street action—with the militia, the wail of sirens, and arrests—has remained their main modus operandi. And that is why all the actions they carried out were painstakingly planned—who was to speak and what he was to say or shout, who was to hold banners, who was to "shield" the speaker, who was to be "among the masses," and so forth. They even thought up what we were to shout when we were led to the militia truck. For instance: "That's democratic socialism for you," or "Long live democracy," or "Fascists!" and so forth.

In October 1988, as a member of the Leningrad delegation, I attended a "DS" conference in the city of Balashikha, near Moscow. The conference was held in the apartment of a "DS" member, who charged his fellow fighters in the party R2 each to stay the night. We argued long and noisily there about the movement's strategy and tactics and toward nightfall people became very drunk and blows were exchanged. In the morning, to crown it all, it was discovered that one of the people attending the conference had stolen a leather coat worth R700 from one of the Leningraders. The Muscovites promised to look into it and it seems they are still looking into it...

As time passed I became more closely acquainted with the party aktiv. These people, who considered themselves "political fighters," caused me increasing bewilderment. For instance, on many occasions I (and I was not alone) told Katya Podoltseva that she should tidy up herself and her four-room apartment—after all there were guests: strangers, foreign correspondents, diplomats. The apartment was always dirty, full of rubbish and a large number of various empty bottles. Yet only Yekaterina and her 14-year-old daughter lived there.

The Leningrad press has written on several occasions of V. Terekhov's criminal past. At DS meetings he sometimes waxed indignant over the "authorities' immorality" and threatened to take the newspaper to court, but he never did. And never mind the court! He did not even tell us, his comrades, what was involved: He obviously could not say anything good.

I will mention one other DS activist. He was Yevgeniy Shcherbakov, senior scientific staffer at a scientific research institute. People at work wrote a little rhyme about him and his friend: In our sector we have progress. We have two staffers in the DS." He organized a republican faction in the "union." And the first thing he did at meetings was to collect subscriptions "for the cause of the faction." The money collected was than shared out among Shcherbakov's "fellow fighters." In general rather strange things often happened to our funds. Money was spent at the personal discretion of Ye. Podoltseva and V. Terekhov. All accounting was done by V. Pershkhalo, a rather shady individual, to whom I personally would not trust even to collect dues for the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy. In the past he had frequently been involved in all kinds of machinations, for which he had received criminal convictions. Demands to audit the funds were immediately cut short by DS activists.

R. Yevdokimov, the leader of the Leningrad branch of the "international human rights society," did not belong to the DS, but took part in some of its actions. He recently landed up in a medical sobering up station and thanks to the "600 seconds" program he roared it out all over the city... It must be admitted that many DS activists are hardened drinkers. Some of us often had to tour the city in fulfillment of a "crucial party assignment" from the DS leaders—finding a bottle after 2000 hours...

Since late 1988 matters in the DS have gotten worse. And also, as though out of spite, there was the scandalous story connected with the publication, in the 15th issue of our journal DEMOKRATICHESKAYA OPPOZITSIYA, of the loutish poem by DS member Yaremenko. Many of us were sincerely angered by this action, which turned us all into a group of common hooligans. Another group was in favor of publication, defending the "principle of freedom of speech." Terekhov drew the line. "The press must be a party press," he said, and Yeremenko was "slung out" of the DS. The militia instituted criminal proceedings for hooliganism against Yaremenko.

Our campaigns into student auditoriums ended in failure. We had one task: to recruit new supporters to our ranks. They listened to us, but that was all. After discussions, almost no one came up to us and few people telephoned. The DS ranks started to thin out. About 20 people have now left the "union."

Seeing all this, the party activists decided to resort to a tested method: holding a "Kazan Cathedral" meeting in the city and thus, on the one hand, showing the cohesion of the DS ranks and on the other trying to use it to enlist new people. The scenario was as usual, causing exacerbation in mutual relations with the authorities...

In the thinking center where the majority of "actions" were discussed and planned, the "union's" elder brother may rightly be regarded to be the international human rights society which, as I have already mentioned, is led by Yevdokimov. Rybakov from the international human rights society even joined the DS. DS activists constantly consulted the international human rights society and it was often through them that information was passed to the West which could later be heard on the foreign "voices." With the aid of the international human rights society the DS leaders established contacts with foreign correspondents and diplomats.

Ye. Podoltseva and V. Terekhov tried as far as they were able to conceal their contacts with them, although at meetings they noisily asserted that "there is no point in us expecting help from the West because the West does not need a strong rival on the world market in the shape of the USSR." Why then were these meetings necessary? I once accidentally learned that in the middle of November last year a "business meeting" was held in Podoltseva's apartment between activists of the "union" and U.S.

Congressmen and diplomats. The thrust of the instructions to the DS leaders came down to the following: "We will help you with technology and money as long as you continue to be the opposition, seek no compromises with the authorities, and pass on to us all information about socioeconomic processes."

This news had a stunning effect on me. It turns out that DS members must struggle not for the ideas of restructuring (about which, according to Podoltseva and Terekhov the Americans could not care less) but for specific material rewards which in addition they must obtain from their "friends across the ocean!" Forgive me, but I can only call this hypocrisy. All this accumulated drop by drop and led me to think of leaving the DS.

But leaving is only part of it. That year taught me a lot and even if my experience is negative—I speak as a scientific staffer—then that is also a result. I would like those who look at the DS with interest and hope today not to have to learn from their own mistakes. Today it is perhaps obvious not only to me—the people do not support the DS' ideas and are not following the "union." There are good young people in the DS who are indeed striving to benefit the cause of restructuring. But today their potential is not directed toward benefiting society.

And another thing, experience suggests to me that the DS' actions reveal shortcomings in official propaganda work. Principled speeches by genuine supporters of restructuring at meetings would totally demolish the DS propagandists' speeches... Through the newspaper I would like to address the sensible, intelligent young people in the DS who are still being misled: "Enough mistakes, don't waste time. Do something useful!" [end Voronov letter]

We do not doubt that the publication of this document (it has been reproduced with just a few small technical abbreviations) will give rise to an outburst of hatred among the present leaders of the DS. But in printing the letter we are in no way addressing them. They have consciously adopted the position described by Andrey Voronov. We are addressing those who, without accurate information, involuntarily sympathize with the "freedom fighters," those who have not found their place yet in today's tempestuous public life. We are also addressing those who, in formally joining the DS, do not support the extremism of its leaders. We know there are such people and although their number is small, restructuring needs every person who can help it.

The words of the present "Democratic Union" usually sound attractive. Its deeds look quite different. Essentially they discredit the public movement for restructuring and voluntarily or not help the consolidation of conservative forces. Yet today society is in need of a completely different kind of consolidation—the union of all those who, in welcoming changes, are ready, within the framework of the socialist pluralism of opinions, to work for the sake of political and economic reforms.

Policeman Injured in Ashkhabad on May Day

18000930b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The May Day demonstration in Ashkhabad took place as usual: marches rang out, the bright spring sun shone, and the republic leaders welcomed the demonstrators from the podiums. But a certain tension could be felt in the conversations and moods of the people. The night before, throughout the city, there was a wave of rumors about possible nationalist uprisings during the holidays.

Everything began after dinner in Central Park named for 20-letiye VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League]. A group of about 200 adolescents began to go around to the trade points and pavilions for public catering and the sphere of consumer services. Urged on by criminally minded elements, they broke store windows, broke furniture and provoked fights. Police attempts to subdue the rowdy crowd of youths were unsuccessful here and in the park, and several groups of hooligans separated from the crowd and moved through the streets of the Turkmen capital continuing the outrage. One of the passing motor vehicles was stopped and set ablaze.

Internal security force subdivisions were immediately called in. By evening more than 100 people, the majority being students from vocational and technical schools, were arrested and taken to the police stations. They were all released to go to their homes on the same day. To the question of how they ended up in the crowd of hooligans practically all of them gave the same answer: by accident.

Police actions were quite correct and none of those arrested were injured. One of the policemen was taken to the hospital with a brain concussion.

"It is still too soon to say anything specific about the reasons and about the organizers of the disorder," commented Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Minister of Internal Affairs V.A. Grinin in a conversation with me about the events, "and an investigation is being conducted."

Striking Norilsk Miners State Grievances

18280117 Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Apr 89 p 2

[Report by L. Shabalin: "The Lessons From One Conflict"]

[Text] Norilsk, Krasnoyarsk Kray—**On the second day that miners refused to come out of the Norilsk "Mayak" mine the mine chief engineer N. Marankov barred the path against this correspondent to prevent him from going**

underground, making reference to some imaginary prohibitions, and then in general trying to intimidate him by saying that I might suddenly be taken hostage.

Nevertheless, having obtained written permission from the leadership of the mining administration to go below I finally managed to get into the mine. At first I experienced a distressing sensation from those underground depths and from the unusual sight of 200 miners, their eyes red from days without sleep, their nerves stretched taught. I stood there, the voices humming, but as soon as I climbed up onto the specially erected dais the strikers became silent. And the questions came at me thick and fast, as though I were some minister...

To put it briefly, all the demands that the workers are making against the administration boil down to problems of wages and wages organizations, and safety. And many of the demands are, as they say, "ancient." For example, way back in early 1986 the collective at the "Angidrid" mine asked the ministry, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the trade union central committee to consider proposals to bring proper order to the wage rate, but unfortunately the letter with its hundreds of signatures was returned with the inscription "Wages are paid in accordance with normativ documents..."

And in 1987-1988 proposals were heard from the dais of the labor collective conferences to improve the economy of the combine. And very early in February this year the trade union for the mining enterprises led by V. Petrenko sent combine director A. Filatov criticisms and proposals from the workers on questions of labor and everyday life and leisure. But as usual, the resolution of many questions was put off for an indefinite time.

The tragic events early in the year, when for various reasons cases of people being killed at work increased, added fuel to the fire. The latest misfortune in February was particularly shaking. At one of the faces in the "Oktyabrskiy" mine a cave-in occurred, trapping four workers under a mass of rock. During the rescue work, another cave-in killed another man, and two were injured.

During the first 3 months of 1989 a total of 14 people have been killed in the Norilsk industrial region. A commission of the USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision found dozens of major and minor violations, resulting mainly from organizational omissions, that had led to the tragedies. After all the investigations it was proposed that A. Konovalov, chief engineer of the "Oktyabrskiy" mine, A. Zaparozhets, chief of the No 1 shaft, M. Chegoryayev, chief of the No 6 shaft, and V. Levin, chief engineer of the mining administration, be dismissed from their posts and that other guilty parties be subjected to severe disciplinary censure. But some of them got away with just a little scare, for example, Levin. Perhaps it is hardly worth recalling these tragic facts, but they are, I suggest, an integral part of the "snowball" of events.

Demands put forward by the miners on 15 March were discussed at a joint meeting of the combine administration, the okrug trade union and experts and workers from the mining administration. Let us recall the words uttered at that time by trade union chairman V. Petrenko: "Some problems cannot be resolved through the efforts of the combine and therefore, in addition to sending a delegation to Moscow, both we, the trade unions, and the members of the technical control section, and the managers must also explain the economic situation to the workers immediately and in an understandable way, and convince them not to get excited..."

Unfortunately, they paid no heed to his opinion and events intensified. The leaders of the party, soviet and trade union organs in the region learned of the new demands from the miners at the "Oktyabrskiy" on 23 March right there at a meeting of the collective.

By a vote of 241 in favor and 23 against, the conference resolved as follows: In the event of failure to comply with the demands to stop work... The mine director A. Seryy expressed misgivings that this decision could also affect other collectives. Nevertheless, with only one vote against, the conference conferred full authority on the initiative group—essentially a "strike committee."

And a chain reaction started. One after another the conferences of the labor collectives in the mining administration decided to go on strike on 1 April. And now the initiative groups elected at the other mines are already putting demands on the table, all gathered together in a single list...

The first to react was the mining administration trade union, which issued an appeal to the miners: Striking is not the method. The presidium of the okrug trade union council—and in these critical days everything was placed on the shoulders of its secretary, G. Sakharov—adopted a resolution on 29 March "On a Possible Strike." In this resolution a work stoppage was condemned as an unacceptable way of resolving issues.

The combine administration was forced to take operations steps. Through a joint resolution with the presidium of the okrug trade union and through individual orders, 11 of the 15 demands were met. The situation was also discussed at a meeting of the combine special technical sector. A work stoppage as a method for resolving the conflict that had arisen between the miners and the administration was forbidden...

Finally, a USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy commission that had arrived in Norilsk supported a proposal from the collective at the "Zapolyaryy" mine to hold a general conference of the mines and with representatives of the initiative group it signed an agreement on conditions to end the labor dispute. However, the results of the agreement were not immediately reported to the workers and much of its content became known only by rumor, which naturally is not the most reliable of information.

And when it seemed that the conflict had died down it flared up again with renewed passion. The reason? Poor information for people on the measures outlined and... the implacable position on some, even insignificant issues, by Deputy Minister K. Arbiyev, on 1-3 April. I have a sin on my soul for revealing this "secret". An attempt was even made to isolate him from the meetings with the collectives to prevent further turmoil. But he continued to rage and even threatened direct reprisals in the spirit of former unfortunate times...

On 4 April, first at the "Oktyabrskiy" mine and then at the "Mayak," "Komsomolskiy" and "Taymyrskiy" mines, more than a thousand miners started a "sit-in" underground.

The feverish brilliance of the eyes is particularly noticeable in the half-dark underground, and questions, questions. I understand these questions are not for me, and the miners understand this. They would like to get answers first and foremost from Minister V. Durasov and other "No 1" people. But they have not come to them. No one has come. Attempts have merely been made to organize "direct lines" between the mine and up on land.

The first of the "high personages" who was not embarrassed to don miner's gear and go underground was O. Shenin, first secretary of the CPSU Krasnoyarsk Kraykom. Just a few hours after this everyone joined the "choir" and went to the mine: the people's deputy, the minister and his entourage, party, soviet and trade union representatives. And now on day 5 the weeping wives and children and relatives of the miners are meeting their men. On 9 April the regular work shifts went down to the faces...

People went, but there are still just as many questions.

Let us hear what the miners have to say.

S. Chernev, a fitter in the "Oktyabrskiy" mine, complained that the changed wage rates struck a mainly moral blow against the workers. Some category 6 people were demoted to category 4. And how will his be for a man if he goes to the "mainland" with this kind of inscription on his work papers? I note that the protests have resulted not only from the formal determination of wage rates for category workers "without proper consideration of circumstances,"—without consideration of work conditions, the danger and responsibility of the work. There was also a reduction in personnel. At that same "Oktyabrskiy" mine the work force was cut by 180.

G. Morozov, mine worker at the "Angidrid" mine, thinks that the plan to increase the intensity of labor "above what has been achieved" will force some people to work to exhaustion, while cutting back on personnel without introducing mechanization and automation and improving production standards will bring only a temporary advantage, and an imaginary one at that.

B. Ogorodnikov, a member of the initiative group at the "Mayak" mine is quite categorical: "The right to work without standards is the only one that is not being infringed upon. Engineering-technical thinking is brought to naught and duty rosters are often drawn up without due consideration of the norms, at the discretion of the chief. Many people have to pursue the plan by evading the rules and instructions."

They remind the workers that over the last year wages have risen an average of 10 percent. But here, 70 percent goes to engineering and technical personnel and only 2 percent to 5 percent to the miners, as bonuses.

There is also another viewpoint, as expressed, for example, by K. Akoyev, a powderman from the "Komsomolskiy" mine: "The special technical sectors at the combine are very weak. They are not even able to monitor compliance with resolutions that abolish the withdrawal of part of the profits by the ministry to pay subsidies for enterprises operating at a loss or with low profitability."

Why are these problems of categories still unresolved?

Is it not because in the preconflict situation the right to resolve disputed issues on behalf of the labor collectives was seized by the initiative groups, and that, like the trade union committees, the special technical sectors have for along time not shouldered the concerns that could be resolved through the Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy, the kray trade union council, the trade union central committee, and, finally, the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]? Serious "punctures" have also been permitted by the central committee of the trade union for workers in the metallurgical industry. Its inconsistent position, it has now become clear, has not lowered the contradictions and is not raising the prestige of the trade unions. Many of the problems at Norilsk have long been known to the trade union central committee, but none of the miners can recall any examples of any serious help. In my opinion, even the trade union central committee secretary who came to Norilsk did not initially promote contacts with the labor collectives...

And the inertia and indecision of the labor collective councils and the trade union organs have been used primarily by the groups that have already shown themselves actively at the elections for the USSR people's deputies...

The main demand from the miners was to increase wages 30 percent—for everyone! Tempting? And how!

Norilsk is an industrial region, a unique complex in the country. Moreover, the conditions of the north and its isolation from the "mainland" have not only left their mark on the people's way of life and behavior, but have also shaped an idea about it as a kind of "extraterritorial" place. I walked about the stores and looked at the clothing and footwear, and how the inhabitants of Norilsk eat and drink, and I saw, meat and dairy products and fruit and vegetables in quantities and assortment that many cities in the country might envy. So the legends about the fine support and the high wages are true. The plants and mines of the north attract many people who have decided to better their material well-being. And so the psychological motivation of "money at any price" is not so rare here. I think that this is also why in the demands for the sharp pay increases emotion has overtaken common sense.

But here we should look rather to the roots of this. A simple question: Who has taught the miners, and not only the miners, to balance their wages and expenses?

The economists have estimated that more than R120 million will be needed to meet the miners' demands, which, of course, have to be found somewhere. But, let us be candid, the state exchequer is not bottomless. It is common knowledge that there is a budget deficit of R36 billion, and to raise wages at the stroke of a pen without an improvement in labor productivity means to take another step toward bankruptcy.

Economic extravagance also leads the actions of workers and managers at various levels, and of the economists, almost to the absurd. While demanding a transfer to a second cost-accounting model the miners are at the same time asking for increased wage rates... And attempts are being made to "process" their demands by those who because of the obligations of their service have been obliged to explain in an understandable way that given this economic model, the source for wages is the cost-accounting incomes for the collective, without which no wages fund will be formed!

But no one can explain to people that the "flourishing" in the period of stagnation has ended and that there is no spare money in the country, that now they can earn only what comes from cost accounting and leasing contracts, not from paper, but from the reality.

Another characteristic feature of the conflict is the lack of mutual self-criticism. At all levels for almost 2 weeks I listened to this kind of separation of "us" and "them." Mutual reproaches, insults and threats have delayed constructive dialogue and the search for solutions to the problems that have arisen. For more than 2 weeks in the administrative offices in the city there has been an incomprehensible talking shop, with tea, at the ministerial level, while in the labor collectives, an uncontrolled hubbub. The reluctance to think constructively and listen to each other patiently has led to a impasse in the confrontation.

I think that the rigid structure of management in the labor collectives at the combine and its position as actual master in the city have also played their role in these events. Hence the habit of managers not to untie the knots carefully but to hack through them, fully confident that it goes without saying that the worker is to blame. Hence the belief that the "boss" is able to get anything. Everything is in his power...

But, of course, a strike is no method for resolving urgent problems. And here we understand the nevertheless quite inflexible position of the Council of Ministers and AUCCTU, which have supported proposals from the Norilsk labor collective councils and the enterprise administrations and trade union committees that provide for a number of economic measures, including the abrogation of labor contracts with those who are hampering the normal operation of the enterprises, with all the socioeconomic consequences stemming from this.

On the other hand, it is also possible to understand the attitude not only of the miners who have refused to come out of the mines, but of all the workers. We are trying to create a rule-of-law socialist state but our laws stipulate neither the strike itself nor production stoppages as a means of resolving labor disputes, nor the consequences stemming from this (sometimes extremely painful consequences). This means, does it not for some reason, that everything is permitted that is not banned by law...

So what have the Norilsk people finally achieved? There is no unambiguous answer, but one thing is beyond dispute: people have forced the leadership of the combine, the ministry, and the public organizations to engage intensively in the search for solutions to urgent problems. The logical culmination of the labor dispute would be a protocol for examining the measures outlined to solve the social problems of workers at the combine, signed by I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and V. Durasov, USSR minister of nonferrous metallurgy, and agreed with I. Kostyuk, chairman of the trade union central committee.

And the first thing that strikes one is that all the problems that have become the main economic demands could sooner or later be resolved without going to extremes.

For example, since 15 April wages for the night shifts have been reviewed, and from 1 October wages for the evening shifts will be reviewed—in accordance with the 12 February 1987 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree. It is planned to correct the unjustified category reductions for workers and here the size of bonuses will be maintained at the level established during the transfer to the new labor conditions...

Much has been resolved. But a legitimate question arises: Why was it not resolved before the conflict? Is it so difficult to guess that this, as it were, even provoked the conflict?

In conclusion, let me reveal yet another tiny "secret." The conflict was still going on when the ministry shared this wish to award the combine workers a CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee challenge Red Banner for their victory in the 1988 all-union socialist competition. There was no need to bring this banner from Moscow. This is not the first year that it has been registered in Norilsk, but the act of conferment is repeated every year. They convinced V. Durasov that the ointment will not be improved by dropping another fly into it now. I must honestly say that when I read the words of the telegram from the members of the special technical sector at the combine in the newspaper editorial office, which contained the well-known phrases that we have heard for so many years—"Are they doing everything that they should?"...—we were reminded of the minister's misplaced proposal. Today are we not trying to use assurances and the rustling of banners to shut ourselves off from in-depth analysis of new phenomena and from finding solutions to painful social problems?

Protest Lodged Over Return of Ivanovo Church

18000889 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by L. Gladysheva, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent: "Quarrel at the Church Steps: What an Inflexible Position of Soviet Organs Leads to in Ivanovo"]

[Text] After 16 days of a hunger strike, ending up in a hospital, they wrote a statement to V. N. Tikhomirov, chairman of the oblispolkom: "We four believers, who declared a hunger strike as a sign of protest against the arbitrary rule of the local authorities, did not make it our aim to kill ourselves. It has now been 16 days since we refused to take food. Our condition is extremely weakened and, in the opinion of the doctors, irreversible processes are about to begin. Thus, we see that the local authorities cooly and calmly will accept the fact of our death, inasmuch as for 16 days we were not offered even one version of a compromise solution to our problem. We are ending the hunger strike, and we will restore our strength, in order to renew the fight for the Vvedenskaya church."

... It was last summer that a group of believers made a request to the Ivanovskiy gorispolkom to register the city's second Orthodox Christian community. The fact itself is normal within the scope of Soviet legislation. But the authorities saw it differently. It is enough, they say, to have the one community that was registered in 1944, and the one active Preobrazhenskiy church will suffice for the believers. They refused to register the community.

But the Council on Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, nonetheless, registered the second religious society of the Russian Orthodox Church and asked the local organs to resolve the question of a prayer house, having in mind the building of the Vvedenskaya church which was being vacated. However, the local soviets did not hasten to fulfill the request of the believers, and they avoided making a decision in every way possible. And this is where the confrontation started.

"Is that the way to put the question: Turn it over to us, or we will die?! You also have to put yourself in the position of a Soviet authority. If salt or kerosene were stored there, it would be another matter," V. N. Tikhomirov, chairman of the oblispolkom said in a conversation with me. "What kind of a bill is to be issued if the church is still occupied by archives? I agree that the matter now has gone too far. We have to talk things over with the people to avoid mistakes. Perhaps discuss it with residents of Ivanovo, sound out public opinion, have a referendum. . ."

For pity's sake, what kind of study of public opinion and holding a referendum are we talking about, when those who are on a hunger strike have doomed themselves to a very unfavorable outcome and when spontaneous meetings have been taking place around the "beautiful" church for 2 weeks now?

Four women were lying under blankets on the church steps. I will get acquainted with them.

—Larisa Vasilyevna Kholina, age 50, a dentist.

—Valeriya Savchenko, age 46, two grandchildren, worked as an office cleaner in a factory.

—Margarita Pilenkova, age 27, Kholina's daughter, a nurse, mother of two children who are three and eight years old.

—Galina Yashukovskaya, age 50, came from the Kuban, was on a visit to Moscow. She found out about the hunger strike from believers and came to give support.

Party and soviet organs of Ivanovskiy Oblast stubbornly do not want to learn lessons from the processes of democratization of our entire life and in such a delicate sphere as state-church relations. As we see, exacerbation of the situation here could have been foreseen and prevented with reasonable solutions. However, once again not the best tradition surfaced—to be at the tail end of events rather than to be ahead of them. And there would be no purpose to starting litigation against the believers, especially after they were officially legalized. Even the future fate of the Vvedenskaya church is still unknown. The archives will soon finally move from extremely difficult and unsuitable conditions to a new building specially built for the storage of documents.

There have gathered around the Vvedenskaya church not only those who are sincerely sympathetic and who are disturbed by the fate of the hunger strikers, not only believers who support them, not only those townspeople who are indignant over the unprecedented deed, and not only street idlers. Representatives of various kinds of informal associations who do not care one bit about the fate of those who are starving have come together from other cities just to yell at, argue with and rebuke the authorities and the "system." It is quite understandable that there were spontaneous meetings and spontaneous processions to the gorispolkom with requests and demands to take measures to stop the hunger strike. How necessary it was in this emotional turmoil to understand what a need there was for a genuine, lively, and convincing word of truth, good, and justice! But this is not the way it sounded from the mouths of the establishment ideologues.

Perhaps, if anyone was in "form," it can be said, in a direct and figurative sense, that it was the Ivanovo police, who had the task of protecting and maintaining law and order.

The lack of a desire to explain things to people exacerbated the situation, and it undermined trust in the leaders of the oblast. At meetings next to the Vvedenskaya church, they recollected: Ivanovskaya Oblast has 330 inactive churches, of these more than 130 are empty, and about 100 are in dangerous condition—sad monuments of Russian history and culture, our dried up roots.

The conflict grew broader and deeper, and it also held the attention of neighboring oblasts. There are inevitable obvious spillovers and demands that run counter to logic. And now Palekh artists are asking the commissioner of the Council on Religious Affairs for Ivanovskiy Oblast to transfer the Kresto-Vozdvizhenskiy cathedral, with the rarest if not the only Palekh icon paintings in the world, and where there now is a museum affiliate, to public worship, although there is an inactive church not far away. A letter has come from Kishinev with a proposal to remove the picture gallery from the former church. In Vladimirskaya Oblast in Gus-Khrustalnyy, a group of believers is insisting on evicting the beautiful glass museum from the Georgievskiy cathedral, which was restored by the state, although the ispolkom is offering them an empty church. And when people receive the absolutely same prohibitive answer both in discussions and reasonable demands, and if something builds up, then this is frustrating. And so one wants to yell:

"Stop, believers and non-believers! We have already made so much of a mess and have mangled so much in history and our own destinies! It is time to come to reason, and at least now not to lose the common sense of the fresh gulps of the pure air of restructuring."

And here is the last thing about which we cannot remain silent. Concern was expressed more than once in the Ivanovskiy obkom and the oblispolkom that a concession to the "beautiful church" might undermine our atheistic positions, and that it might lead to some kind of outbreaks of religiosity. These and other premature judgments of this kind are being carried on the pages of the press. Particular concern is being expressed about the fact that there has been a lot of sympathy among the youth for the hunger strikers. Some people are inclined to assume that an elementary display of human charity is a kind of worship of religious cults. ... But is it really that difficult to distinguish one from the other and to find a reasonable solution that would satisfy both sides?

Labor Discipline Seen as Key to Restructuring

PM0505160789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Discipline Is the Ally of Restructuring—Looking at the Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Democracy and glasnost, political, economic, and legal reforms—all the restructuring processes are entering our lives for one purpose: to give Soviet people a better life and to reveal their initiative, creativity, and rich spiritual potential more fully.

By opening the doors to the fresh wind of change, society would receive in full measure, one would think, a corresponding return. So why were serious shortcomings pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee plenum? Namely, a shortage of food and a number of other daily goods in stores, failures to deliver raw materials and parts, which disrupt the production rhythm, and social tension, which in some labor collectives results in unauthorized rallies and even strikes. Mutually exclusive restructuring and negative phenomena have become facts of our daily life. We must come to grips with them.

The causes that give rise to concern include the frequently poor executive and labor discipline. We must look the truth in the face, it was said at the plenum. Many people have forgotten how to work and have gotten used to being paid just for turning up at work. This kind of attitude does enormous damage to the economy, putting it into an idling mode, and to the policy of restructuring. The direct consequence of this is that the objectives society sets itself are not being achieved fully and rapidly enough.

But people are expecting cardinal changes for the better. The plenum criticized the CPSU Central Committee for not making sufficient demands upon senior officials. Answering the criticism in his closing speech, M.S. Gorbachev noted: We now make it a rule to regularly have leaders of all ranks address the Politburo and the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, as a monitoring exercise. As we do this we will tighten responsibility for the job in hand. It was noted that the task of normalizing the situation in the market is a problem that cannot be solved without the broadest practical participation of republics, krays, and oblasts, and major industrial centers, particularly during present conditions, where more and more rights are being delegated to republics, regions, enterprises, and labor collectives.

Let us be frank. Our attention is drawn to many production achievements abroad. But let us recognize something else. In firms everywhere the worker at the machine tool will not spend time having debates with his neighbor, a member of the plant management will not go off on private business long before the lunch break, nor would he get a pat on the back for getting drunk. Without discipline there is no real work, either there or here.

We often hear warnings. Don't talk restructuring to death... It is addressed not only to those who like to speak on platforms. We have already learned to use polite applause to get the fancy talker to give way to the business-like speaker. But there are cases where working time is being eroded by so-called rally democracy. Indeed, at times it is necessary to discuss in detail whom to elect as chief, what to build using the money earned by the collective, and how to improve the ecological situation. But not raise all these matters instead of working!!

But is it a normal situation where undemanding leaders, voluntarily or involuntarily pandering to the spread of consumerism, are placed at the management helm at certain enterprises? Instead of getting involved in improving economic relations, they act on the basis of parochial interests, indulging "group egoism," and they are concerned not about how best to run things from the viewpoint of national interests, but about getting the biggest possible slice, even if this is detrimental to the partner.

The following instance was cited at the CPSU Central Committee plenum: The Berezniki "Azot" Combine (Perm Oblast) failed to fulfill deliveries of urea to the Kuban, explaining that it had sold a quantity of its products abroad at a profit. But why don't the Berezniki people ask those people, abroad, what happens to unscrupulous partners? It is common knowledge that everyone stops dealing with them and they go bankrupt. But what if the Perm workers' partners—Kuban farmers—were to retaliate and stop supplying them with wheat, meat, and rice?—was the reasonable question asked by Krasnodar Kray Committee First Secretary I. Polozkov. Let us be clear about this. Would we get anywhere if inter-oblast "trade wars" broke out here too? Everyone would be pulling the blanket over himself and we would tear it to shreads, so that no one would be able to hide under it.

The broad rights given to labor collectives are still not always linked in people's consciousness with an awareness that only they, and no one else, can ensure their own well-being on the basis of improved labor productivity and higher production efficiency. Economic managers are urged to organize their work in such a way that enterprises increase their incomes not by dodging, grabbing, and raising prices.

How do the people at the Minsk "Komsomolka" Sewn Goods Production Association, the "Energotekhprom" Science and Production Association, and the Krivoy Rog Metallurgical Combine, for example, manage to achieve good production and economic indicators? By improving the production process and the consumer qualities of their products and through strong labor discipline. Those who are still lagging behind would do well to borrow this valuable experience.

Discipline... It is seen today not in terms of the mindless execution of at times contradictory and obsolete instructions, but as a really creative, proprietorial, and zealous attitude to the job, to working time.

The strengthening of it cannot be divorced from concern for human beings. And this means that it is necessary to create conditions for people's productive work, to think about the social development of the collective, about the distribution of benefits in accordance with the principle of social justice. When this concern is not present labor conflicts, various excesses, and sometimes strikes occur. How does one perceive them? Can one tolerate them? Categorical yeses and no's are obviously not appropriate here. It is one thing when a strike is the result of neglect of working people's just demands and crude administrative tyranny. It is quite another thing if it is provoked by irresponsible extremists and used as a way of pressurizing the enterprise leadership in order to achieve narrow group and egotistical goals. In any case strikes do very serious damage to the economy. So the right of working people to express their views in this way must be constitutionally established and be concretized in corresponding normative acts.

In the strenghtening of discipline much depends on the way the party organization and Communists conduct themselves. If the people are at boiling point, want to rally and demonstrate, and are unhappy with labor conditions or organizations it is a significant indicator of poor party political and organizational work.

Labor discipline should not weaken as democracy develops, but, on the contrary, strengthen. It aids restructuring, it does not inhibit it. And we will act on this basis.

Latvian Party Plenum Considers Language Law 4 May

LD0405171589 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Riga May 4 TASS—The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee held a plenum today to consider measures for the radical study of the Lettish Language by the population of the Baltic republic and a draft Latvian law on languages.

The plenum followed an extensive discussion of these problems in the press, on television and at rallies and meetings. This is why it was not easy for the working commissions which prepared the documents to take into account the entire range of opinions and sometimes directly opposite views.

It was stressed at the plenum that only the harmonising of interests of different ethnic groups and respect for citizens' equality, shown along with concern for the national language, can serve as the foundation of a law-governed state's language policy.

In order to rectify mistakes made in previous years when repeated resolutions on the need to know two languages remained effectively unfulfilled, it is essential, it was emphasised at the plenum, to create legal guarantees excluding any possibility of deformities.

The plenum analysed every aspect of the documents which will be put before the Latvian state legislature on Friday.

The plenum was addressed by Jan Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Latvian Supreme Soviet Considers Language, Land Use

Language Law Passed 5 May

LD0505181189 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Riga May 5 TASS—Latvia's Supreme Soviet passed with a majority of votes a law on languages at its session today. Speakers at the session stressed that the new law would extend the sphere of usage of the Latvian language and ensure its further development in the republic. The main provisions of the new law will come into force after three years.

The law determines the usage of Latvian and other languages in various spheres of state and public activity, specifies the rights and guarantees of the republic's population in choosing languages and provides protection for languages. The status of Latvian as a state language, the law stresses, does not harm the rights of citizens of other nationalities to use their own mother tongue. In Latvia, the Russian language along with Latvian is one of the main means of interethnic communication. It is specially stressed that the state ensures a respectful attitude to all languages used in the republic and creates conditions for their development.

A draft of the state programme to provide the material base for the implementation of the law has been elaborated. According to preliminary estimates, the full cost of its implementation will amount to 50 million roubles, Vilnis Bresis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, stressed in his report.

The session will continue its work on May 6.

Land Use Law Passed

LD0605170589 Moscow TASS in English 2056 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Riga May 6 TASS—Deputies of a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Latvia have voted for the right of Latvian peasants to use land for an indefinite period of time. After a thorough discussion a republican law on peasant farms was adopted. Peasants who are given a plot of land now have equal rights with farms of the public sector.

Owners of the plots of land will be given bank credits for the construction of a house and other structures and for buying all the necessary facilities. They will be able to do all they wish with the goods they produce, to purchase farm machinery, fertilizers, seeds and pedigree livestock at state prices. According to the new law, the employment of hired help does not contradict Soviet principles. A farmer can bequeath the land to his heirs, but cannot sell it, because the land continues to be the property of the state.

Latvia's agriculture has been based for ages on small farms. This is another reason for believing that land-cultivating and stock-breeding small farms will be effectively integrated in the republic's economy. The new law is important both from the economic and moral point of view. A feeling of the owner of the land is returning to the farmers, which is in line with the traditional way of life of the Latvian people.

The deputies approved a number of other legal acts and resolutions, as well as a law on amendments to the Latvian Constitution.

The session was at work for two days and ended on Saturday.

Supreme Soviet Ends Session 6 May

LD0805135289 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2000 GMT 6 May 89

[Excerpts] The ordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic ended its work today. In the morning the deputies continued to review the issue of peasants' farms, which will in the future be an important part of the (?rural area) in Latvia. After thorough discussion the law on peasants' farms and regulations concerning its implementation were adopted.

Deputies held lenghty discussions on demonstrations, meetings, street marches, and picketing. Various proposals were accepted by the majority of delegates and the issue was left open. The Supreme Soviet Presidium has to work on a new draft and in the meantime the decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium on 10 April, is still valid. [passage omitted]

A commission to investigate documents and activities of the Latvian national independence movement was created. Deputies confirmed the decrees adopted between sessions. It should be mentioned that, perhaps for the first time in the history of the sessions, deputies did not confirm some of the decrees, including one on widening the structure of the government. [passage omitted]

Concept of Latvian Patriotism Pondered

PM0505104989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by USSR People's Actor Khariy Liyepinsh: "Stop Being Egocentric: The USSR Is Our Common Home"]

[Text] Love for our homeland... Losing that feeling means being excluded from the life of one's people and torn away from the ethnic richness of one's native culture and native language and this signifies a person's spiritual death.

Throughout their centuries-old history the Latvian people have created and fought for the survival of their national culture and language. Thus, at the beginning of 1915 on the formation of the first Lettish Riflemen corps (subsequently the legendary Lettish Red Riflemen—the knights of the revolution) the Latvian people joined up with Russia in an impassioned upsurge out of love for their fatherland and their native home and rose up to fight for the freedom of their homeland against the German aggressors under the slogan: "If we cannot live freely on our own soil, we will die for it with integrity!"

Life has subjected our people to pitiless ordeals for the sake of freedom and for the sake of a radiant future. In the revolutionary upsurge the Lettish Red Riflemen were forced to leave their native lands and go east. Moscow, Perekop, Orel, Kazan, Yaroslavl... Those are the milestones on the path covered by the revolutionary riflemen, where they so often lost their lives and spilt their blood—the color of their standard. But the sacrifices were not in vain. Latvia became free Latvia as Lenin had promised. How many times had the Latvian people risen up to fight with desperate determination prior to this?! The fact that our ancient forebears settled on the shores of the beautiful Baltic Sea was both a joy and a curse. But, despite everything, my Latvia was strong and powerful in terms of culture, language, and folk songs. Only a profound belief in the language, culture, and might of the people and its sound roots helped my generation survive and stand its ground!

The late 1930's and early 1940's was a very complex time. Let me recall that when my generation started out in life different flags were hoisted over Latvia on three occasions—the red-white-red banner replaced the red hammer and sickle and then the Fascists hoisted their spidery swastika. It was hard for young people to grasp the events that rapidly succeeded one another. It was only owing to our wise elder mentors and teachers that many of us were able to correctly find our position in life and preserve our faith in a radiant future for our people.

So in 1941 there was war once again. The vital energy of the people that was recently fettered was unleashed! What sorrow then befell Latvia... The people's pulse gradually calmed and began to beat regularly albeit intermittently. (We recall the deportations of 1949 and the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee 1959 Plenum, following which many representatives of the creative intelligentsia began to be persecuted on charges of bourgeois nationalism.) It is now 1989, the 4th year of restructuring, and we have 44 years of peacetime behind us. Man's spirit is emancipated today. The spiritual cohesion between peoples speaking different languages is miraculous. The last 4 years have brought about a shift in everyone's thinking. But you cannot describe the present time as simple. Overt "pros" and covert "cons" still coexist in many spheres of life and you do not always grasp immediately the right path. Nonetheless our time acts like litmus paper in determining who is who and who is fighting for what.

A great deal, a very great deal of my notions as an actor may be somewhat colored by emotion. But everyone realizes that love and pain are emotions and, consequently, you cannot avoid emotion. Why did I turn to the central press, to PRAVDA? Because I am concerned by the fact that many people's consciousness is being deformed and this carries with it the risk that the events taking place in the Baltic republics may not be correctly comprehended.

People ask me the following question: "What is going on in your country, in Latvia? Are Russians being expelled from Latvia? Is it true that the monument to the Lettish Red Riflemen on Daugava Embankment will be demolished in order to erect a monument to the Fascists in its place? What is your People's Front of Latvia—a new party that is seizing power and that will work to separate Latvia from the USSR? I must say that it is no coincidence that such rumors are arising since there are forces that want to create that kind of wrong impression of the People's Front of Latvia and compromise it.

No, the People's Front is not a party. It is a sociopolitical organization. It comprises several hundred thousand partners whose aim is to strive to improve the republic's economy, ecology, and social policy. The chairman of the People's Front of Latvia is a Communist, a delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Of the members of the board more than half are members of the CPSU. That is why it is ridiculous to believe that the People's Front of Latvia opposes the party. "Narrow-minded nationalists"? The members of the People's Front of Latvia include Letts, Russians, Belorussians, and Poles, who, loving their second homeland Latvia, respecting its language, culture, and traditions, have firmly set down roots among our people and will, like any Lett, vote without hesitation in favor of a healthy happy Latvia. As I understand it, international unity and fellowship also arises from respect for one another.

I am also a member of the People's Front and I head its subdivision at the Latvian SSR Arts Theater. A sense of internationalism has been fostered in me since childhood. I grew up in Riga among people of various nationalities. The brothers Volodya and Zhenya Pankin and Girshs and Natels Finkelshtayn were my friends. Our parents were friends. They spoke to one another in Latvian and, each using his own calendar, congratulated one another on their name days, Easter, and Remembrance Day, and wept impotently when Girshs and Natels bearing the Star of David on their backs went on their last journey to a forest near Salaspils in 1943 in accordance with the will of the Hitlerites...

We were always reared in the spirit of internationalism. The fact that all national cultures in Latvia developed freely, which ensured real mutual understanding between the peoples living in Latvia, constituted a democratic tradition in Latvian culture. Why do the words "nationalist" and "extremist" come so often and easily to people's lips? And in Riga, which has suffered so many misfortunes during its history that another city would have simply perished, were it not for our friendship and the unity in our hearts.

People have taken offense. People have become intolerant. Why? Riga is overpopulated and people are irritated because of the lack of benefits and social justice. Industrial sectors unusual to Latvia were developed intensively there and this automatically caused an influx of a manpower in such abundance that the Latvian population in Riga now only amounts to one-third. Throughout the republic the indigenous inhabitants have found themselves in the minority for the first time. It is hard and practically impossible to halt the extensive migration given the constant expansion of the industrial sphere within the republic. The new work force needs housing. Consequently, construction must be developed and, consequently, a new work force is needed and yet more new housing.

On arriving in the republic "in search of fame and fortune," many people have no idea about our national culture, language, and traditions. They have no understanding of our national pride. If, for the first time in the many thousands of years of their history, Latvians find themselves in the minority on territory that has been theirs since time immemorial and ask that their language—Latvian—be recognized as the state language, that is no whim, it is not nationalism, but a vital necessity. "If we approach the matter from principled internationalist positions, the question of helping and defending the Latvian language will arise in all its magnitude," A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium, said recently at Interfront's constituent congress, "rather than that of giving it any advantages. In giving the Latvian language the status of state language, we are doing our utmost to establish practical bilingualism..."

But I must point out, to my tremendous sorrow that this concept is not to everyone's liking. Why? Obviously, the normal tenor of life is being upset. Some things have to be learned, some people have to be respected, and some people and some things have to be taken into consideration. But that is too much bother!.. Hence the "argument," "We liberated you and you are ungrateful!"

No, Latvia reveres its liberators. But the real liberators with whom the Latvian Guards Division and other Latvian units fought shoulder to shoulder and who remained in Latvia after 1945 know perfectly well who Ya. Raynis, A. Upit, and V. Latsis are, know and speak Latvian, and respect Latvia's past and present. There are very, very many such people. They told me that complaints that the Latvian language is impossible to study are naive and absurd. You can learn colloquial Latvian in 2-3 months. But if you do not want to then 20 years will not be long enough. In my opinion, consolidating the healthy forces of restructuring is more important for all of us today rather than debates on language. The concept of a "common home" must triumph over the concept of a "communal apartment" with individual rooms shut off with patent locks...

But how? How can we escape from today's complex situation?

Everyone must stop and look around first to see whether he is being fair. The present-day process of domestic restructuring must occur through dialogue along with common sense.

I am an optimist. I can see that culture, which should help render our relations more human and humane, is a tremendous force uniting all of us. Innovative elements can only be created by good sentiments and a desire to see other men as comrades and friends. I believe that everything will assume its true value and fall into place. No situations are irreparable.

I would like to quote our president Anatoliy Gorbunov once more: "May the voice of the heart, cordiality, and courage unite us. There can be no hostility between the peoples in Latvia... Any thoughtless or biased referendum may prove fatal... We have recovered today from the intoxication of pseudosuccess and the giddiness of fabricated indicators. Let us begin by restoring Russian-Latvian cultural ties and mending the severed ties. There are age-old preconditions for that. If we succeed in stopping to think in terms of the egotistical 'me' and start thinking in terms of 'the two of us together' (if only)—that is a foundation on which to build. I am convinced that we will repair our 'common home.' Latvia is not hostile and does not want to go off anywhere... Come and visit us. See for yourselves. We will respond in kind to a friendly smile. Let us show you our art and coastline, where, unfortunately, bathing is not recommended now. That, incidentally, will show you once again the gravity of the ecological problems within the republic. Let us talk about love for our homeland and, I am sure, that we will find a common language."

As a citizen of Latvia, an artist, and a man, I urge you: Let us be worthy of constructive rather than destructive patriotism and may restructuring unite all Latvia's peoples.

Let each of us speak about the life and affairs of our own republic and our own region. Let us ponder what we now need to do to support through our unity the bold ventures and transformations begun by the party. The times require such unity from us!

I ask you to transfer the royalties from this article to the fund to help the victims of the Armenian earthquake (Account No 700953, Spandaryan USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, Yerevan City).

Latvian Minister of Internal Affairs Interviewed

PM0905083189 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 21 Apr 89 p 2

["Topical Interview" with B.Ya. Shteynbrik, Latvian minister of internal affairs, by LATINFORM correspondent B. Sebyakin: "Providing a Legislative Basis for Social Phenomena"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA introduction]

[Text] Some people pin the home-made posters with inscriptions, drawings, and photographs, covered in polyethylene sheet against the rain, to their clothes; others hang them round their necks; yet others simply hold them in their hands. The reactions of passers-by to these people vary. Some simply ignore them, others slow down to read the posters, and some people enter into polemics with the pickets. There is no doubt that many people see the appearance of pickets as yet another step toward democratization.

This is why the Decree on Amendments to the USSR Law on State Crimes and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On the Procedure for Applying the Statute on the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations," which came out immediately after that decree, have attracted so much attention from the public. The republican resolution states that the actions of citizens who take part in picketing will henceforth be regulated by the Statute on the Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations introduced in July 1988. In this connection LATINFORM correspondent B. Sebyakin asked B.Ya. Shteynbrik, Latvian SSR minister of internal affairs, for an interview.

[Sebyakin] First of all, could you tell us, Bruno Yakovlevich, how these legislative acts will change the relations between citizens and the militia as the organ of state power?

[Shteynbrik] The resolution of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that you have mentioned merely provides an explanation of the meaning of a specific term which was simply not taken into account during the compilation of the statute, which was, as a result, given different interpretations. A connection should not be made between the publication of this resolution and the adoption of the new USSR decree. Even in the social life of the republic this resolution cannot introduce any significant changes. After all, as in the past, all citizens or groups of persons are fully entitled to express their opinion by any means permitted by law. On the other hand, the practical experience of recent months has shown that it is necessary to establish on a legislative basis certain procedural limits to the holding of demonstrations, rallies, and other similar events.

In my opinion, a considerable number of the mass events staged in the streets of Riga and other Latvian cities by social organizations and individuals were well organized. It is noteworthy that under these conditions militia workers in the streets went about their normal business—as is appropriate in a democratic society—regulating traffic, directing transport, and maintaining public order. This was largely a consequence of the legislative acts that have been adopted to regulate the holding of mass events. They also removed many problems and introduced order into the mutual relations between state organs and social organizations in this sphere.

Naturally, the establishment of rule-of-law relations is not a simple matter; essentially it is a new type of activity on the part of state organs. Life, as always, is introducing its corrections and bringing forth new forms of legal regulation which were formerly not thought of.

[Sebyakin] Is the resolution on pickets one such form?

[Shteynbrik] Many of the republic's inhabitants followed the debate in the press and on television on the various interpretations of the term "picketing." And although the discussion made it possible to gain a detailed knowledge of the history of this issue and of the whole gamut of meanings of the term, it did not produce a consensus. The legal interpretation of the term was provided by lawmakers. They established that picketing is to be treated as a form of demonstration.

[Sebyakin] Nonetheless, I believe an explanation is needed here. Is it right to put picketing, which involves a few people, on a par with demonstrations, which are sometimes attended by hundreds of thousands of people?

[Shteynbrik] The scale is not comparable, of course. But the essence of the actions is the same—publicly demonstrating one's views on a particular topical issue. This is what makes it impossible to draw a line "from here to here" and specify when a particular group of people turns into a mass. After all, the main aim of picketing is to attract people's attention and rally them behind the proclaimed slogans.

It has to be mentioned that pickets have on occasion infringed traffic rules and committed other misdemeanors which qualify as petty hooliganism and persistent refusal to comply with the legitimate demands of militia workers. The slogans of some pickets contained insulting attacks on state and social organizations and individual citizens. Now that authorization to mount a picket has to be obtained, all the organizational questions can be dealt with in advance. I believe that this will make it possible to make picketing a calmer activity which is not fraught with the threat of developing into a crime.

[Sebyakin] It is understandable that you yourself welcome the adoption of the resolution on pickets. It will facilitate the militia's work. However, if we are really seeking to create a rule-of-law state, should not the interests of the pickets themselves also be taken into account?

[Shteynbrik] I do not believe that insurmountable obstacles have suddenly been placed before the organizers of pickets. It would be more appropriate to say that order has been introduced in organizing such actions. Just as in the case of rallies and demonstrations, an application has to be submitted to the soviet executive committee [ispolkom] at the place where the picket is to be staged and a corresponding permit has to be obtained. In my opinion, it is expedient to agree the site where picketing is to take place when the permit is given. This is necessary to ensure the free flow of transport and freedom of movement for pedestrians. A ban can be appealed, just as before, in accordance with the set procedure. I must say that the practice of having to obtain permits for picketing was introduced in our republic several months ago; now it has merely been legalized. Individual citizens and social organizations applied for—and obtained!—permits to mount pickets and display their slogans. And, as practical experience has shown, no problems arose in connection with such pickets. It would, however, be desirable if ispolkoms specified in advance where picketing is permitted and where it is not.

[Sebyakin] Militia men have gathered a certain amount of experience in dealing with pickets. You could probably also name some typical causes which lead to conflicts.

[Shteynbrik] It would be naive to assume that there are slogans with which everyone will agree. Therefore pickets must take into account that people around them may not share their views and may express their disagreement with particular slogans. Alas, they do not always do this in the most diplomatic manner. It is probably the pickets who should set an example of disciplined behavior and do everything they can to prevent an ideological dispute from deteriorating into a common brawl. And, of course, the pickets must carry the permit issued to them by the ispolkom sanctioning the event in question, and also their identity papers.

[Sebyakin] However, let us assume that a particular group suddenly decides that it wants to picket and, despite being unable to obtain the necessary documents, comes out into the street with its slogans. What will the militia do?

[Shteynbrik] In accordance with the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Responsibility for Violation of the Established Procedure for Organizing and Holding Meetings, Rallies, Street Marches, and Demonstrations," which was adopted 29 July 1988, militia workers will first of all invite the pickets to stop the action and apply for permission to the ispolkom. Refusal to comply with the militia's demands will entail detention and prosecution.

[Sebyakin] What does this involve?

[Shteynbrik] Under the law, people detained for infringing the aforementioned rules can be kept at a militia post for up to 3 days, until a people's judge has examined the evidence. It is also appropriate to recall here that violation of the procedure for organizing and holding meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations entails a warning or a fine of up to R300, or detention under administrative law for a period of up to 15 days. Furthermore, if the same offense is committed again within a year from the time when the administrative penalty was applied, it entails more severe punishment—a fine of up to R1,000, or correctional labor for a period of up to 2 months with a 20 percent deduction from wages, or detention under administrative law for a period of up to 15 days. Criminal proceedings are instituted against organizers of events who commit offenses after they have been subjected to an administrative penalty. As you can see, the consequences for undisciplined pickets can be quite unpleasant.

[Sebyakin] Is there any connection between the resolution on picketing and the Decree on Enhanced Responsibility for Gambling?

[Shteynbrik] The only connection is that they were both adopted by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the same day, 10 April. This is just a coincidence. But since we are on the subject of the decree, I will explain its purpose.

Many inhabitants of the republic, and Riga in particular, are rightly outraged by the prevalence of gambling at markets and other places, including "thimblerigging," card games, and roulette. The swindlers—there is no other way to describe them—cashing in on the gullibility of certain people, are making a fortune for themselves. However, before the decree was published, a "thimblerigger" who was caught red-handed could get away with a fine of up to R50. For these people this was a purely symbolic sum of money. I believe, however, that now many of them will have to say goodbye to their pernicious "habit" of duping people. After all, a second detention within 1 year for a gambling offense or for taking bets by private citizens at sports or other competitions is punishable by imprisonment for a period of 2 years, or correctional labor for the same period. At the same time the gaming facilities, including money, belongings, or other valuables put down as stakes are confiscated. By decision of the lawmakers, the keeping of gambling dens now entails criminal responsibility.

In conclusion I would like to mention that similar decrees have been adopted in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Transcaucasian republics, and some other republics. And so it is becoming more and more difficult for swindlers to run their business, and they cannot get along by staging "guest performances." However, it would be even better if our citizens actively assisted the militia in combating those who organize gambling. After all, gambling goes on to this day, sometimes in the very center of Riga, in full sight of everybody. Think hard before you swallow the bait of an easy win, after all you may become not merely the victim of a criminal offense, but even an accessory.

MVD's Bakatin Writes on Combatting Juvenile Crime

PM0205151389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 1

[Column by V.V. Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister, under the rubric "Rubric Premiere: Ministerial Column": "Strength of Authority"—first five paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] At a briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Minister of Internal Affairs Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin stressed that restructuring the work of the militia today is impossible without broad glasnost, and he invited journalists to actively cooperate in elucidating the problems and work of internal affairs bodies.

We decided to make the most of this invitation and, literally the day after the briefing, telephoned Vadim Viktorovich and said: "Would you agree to head a special rubric in our newspaper, as minister of internal affairs and as an interesting interlocutor?"

We are pleased to inform you, esteemed readers, that, from today, both you and I have a new contributor to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

We take pleasure in introducing him to you and invite you to take part in the discussion.

From his biography: Bakatin, Vadim Viktorovich. Born in 1937. Member of the CPSU since 1964. Graduated from the Novosibirsk Civil Engineering Institute and the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy. Began his working life as foreman of the "Kemerovokhimstroy" Trust Construction Administration in 1960. Later became sector chief, chief engineer, construction administration chief, and chief engineer of a house-building combine in Kemerovo. Has been in party work since 1973: second secretary of Kemerovo City Party Committee [gorkom], head of a department and secretary of Kemerovo Oblast Party Committee [obkom]. Became a CPSU Central Committee inspector in 1983; first secretary of Kirov CPSU Obkom in 1985; first secretary of Kemerovo CPSU Obkom in 1987; USSR minister of internal affairs in 1988. Member of the CPSU Central Committee (since 1986).

I immediately accepted the offer to head a permanent rubric in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

I do not know whether this will please readers or not, but not to take this opportunity of regular contact with the colossal youth audience would be unforgivable indifference. I do not intend to build illusions, but this is also a chance for a minister to be heard and understood. I think (at least, I would like to hope) that readers have a million questions they would like to ask the USSR MVD. So the movement should not be all in the one direction.

Our discussion will be frank and honest. But it will not be a discussion of equals. The position of 18 million subscribers is more preferable. You can imagine how many sharp, intelligent arrows of criticism will be directed at the MVD, the militia, and the minister.

But that is enough—the offer has been accepted. There is nowhere to retreat to, especially as I did not accept without "self-interest," as you have already guessed. My one interest is greater mutual understanding. Without this, without the masses' trust, the militia will not be able to guarantee the constitutional tasks of protecting public order, combating violations of the law, and protecting citizens.

But this process of strengthening the trust in and authority of the Soviet militia depends on the militia itself. It is now restructuring itself, restructuring its work.

Window-dressing, deception, and percentage-mania must be ruled out. There must be greater attention to people, higher standards and professionalism. In order to outwit the modern criminal there must be bold, honest, strong people well familiar with all the peculiarities of our life and able to distinguish real socialist values from consumerism, nihilism, or extremism.

We also have an interest in this discussion because half the militia personnel are below the age of 30. It goes without saying that they have a considerable number of their own problems of a material and moral nature.

There must be legal and social protection and a great democratization of service relations, coupled with a strengthening of conscious service discipline, not to mention the intolerability of betrayal, dissoluteness, lawlessness, and boorishness.

Of course, our main interest is to investigate together what is happening with juvenile crime. This is certainly our COMMON interest. I will not abuse percentages and statistics from the start, but take my word for it that crime has become much younger. Its nature has changed. There is more violence and brutality. The number of burglaries has sharply increased. Drug addiction, toxin addiction, prostitution, and black marketeering are progressing. This has not all appeared suddenly, of course. We have been approaching it gradually. But this is poor consolation. We must take steps.

As minister, I can tell you that, at the final collegium session in 1988, in the presence of all the chiefs of the oblast internal affairs administrations, we agreed that work with young people and measures to prevent juvenile crime are everywhere becoming the personal responsibility of senior leaders—in the republic, oblast, city, rayon, and settlement—not formally, but really personally looking into the fate of every juvenile. I do not think that everyone has restructured their ideas. But you must be made aware of this decision by the USSR MVD Collegium and it would not be a bad thing if you helped us put it into practice.

I do not want to list all the problems now that we could discuss together. You will name these problems for yourselves. There really are "millions" of them. But right now, without wasting time, I would like to suggest that we discuss the possibilities for the closest, all-around cooperation between the MVD and organizations of internationalist servicemen ("Afgantsy"). It is very important to use your colossal authority and far from fully revealed potential, and not only in the militia, against the impudence of armed robbers, black marketeers, racketeers, and other swindlers.

And, finally, I do not think that exhortations, sermons, prescriptions, and hackneyed ideas will form the substance of our discussion. We do not need rose-colored spectacles. I also hope that we will not fall prey to the now fashionable ecstasy of slander. Reticence, illusion, and half-truths are even more dangerous.

The most important thing is to lead a constructive search for joint ways to cleanse our lives of the filth of crime and ways to restructure the militia, which will help it shake off the authority of strength and win the strength of authority.

Gorbachev, Others Sign Writer Kaverin's Obituary

LD0405194189 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—Outstanding Soviet writer Veniamin Kaverin died at the age of 87. The obituary signed by leaders of the party and state, prominent writers and workers in the arts says that Kaverin dedicated his entire life and work to the service for the motherland, for the Soviet people. The works of Veniamin Kaverin, one of the founders of the Soviet multi-ethnic literature, are devoted to the revolutionary renewal of the world, instill lofty civic and moral ideals. Kaverin's novels "The Fulfilment of Wishes", "Two Captains", "Open Book", are among the masterpieces of Soviet literature. Kaverin worked in many genres, had effective and lucid style and portrayed characters with psychological insight. His novels "In Front of the Mirror", "The Lighted Windows", "Petrograd Student", "The Art of Parting", a book of literary portraits, his memoirs and essays develop and enrich ideological and aesthetic experience of Soviet literature.

Signatories Listed

PM0805152489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 May 89 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary of Veniamin Aleksandrovich Kaverin]

[Excerpts] Our multinational culture has suffered a grave loss. The outstanding Soviet writer Veniamin Aleksandrovich Kaverin has died in his 88th year. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, A.S. Kapto, V.G. Zakharov, A.Ya. Degtyarev, Ch.T. Aytmatov, G.Ya. Baklanov, A.A. Belyayev, Yu.V. Bondarev, V.V. Bykov, Yu.N. Verchenko, Yu.P. Voronov, A.T. Gonchar, D.A. Granin, V.K. Yegorov, S.P. Zalygin, V.V. Karpov, D.S. Likhachev, G.M. Markov, S.V. Mikhalkov, A.A. Mikhaylov.

Slyunkov Opens Party Socioeconomic Seminar 26 Apr

PM2804103189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 89 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Conference in CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A seminar-conference of the chiefs of the socioeconomic departments of union republic Communist Party central committees, kray party committees, oblast party committees, and a number of city party committees began work in the CPSU Central Committee 26 April. Its participants are to discuss the tasks of party committees' socioeconomic departments connected with implementing the party's socioeconomic policy at the present stage of restructuring and ways to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) and March (1989) plenums.

The conference was opened by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Questions of Socioeconomic Policy.

A report on the tasks of party committees' socioeconomic departments connected with implementing the party's socioeconomic policy at the present stage of restructuring was presented by V.I. Shimko, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department.

The seminar was addressed by V.S. Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices, I.M. Bortnik, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and K.T. Turysov, secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The seminar participants exchanged opinions.

The conference will continue 27 April.

Afanasyev Interviewed on PRAVDA's Changing Role

AU0505174589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Afanasyev, editor in chief of PRAVDA, by Stefan Enchev: "Contemporary Problems Are the Main Thing for Us Now"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Enchev] Viktor Afanasyevich, where, in your view, does the journalist's place lie in the complex process of restructuring in the Soviet Union?

[Afanasyev] I think that the journalist's place is in the front ranks of restructuring, and there are reasons for this: First, our party, the CPSU, is the source and initiator of restructuring, and we journalists of the central press organs stand closest to the party. The second reason is that the problems of the bureaucracy have not been so sharply reflected in journalism as the problems in the other spheres of our social life. Be that as it may, the newspapers, and especially PRAVDA, have always operated on democratic principles. We discuss all the articles and materials collectively, in the form of a collegium, and all decisions are taken in a democratic manner. As journalists, our hands have proved to be clean. Notwithstanding all the processes that are taking place even at this moment, not a single journalist has seriously blackened his name. A further reason why we must be in the front ranks, and are in fact there, is that we have no interests of our own, no departmental or "local" interests. This applies first and foremost to those working in the central press. We express the interests of the party and the state, and for this reason have no sympathies or otherwise, no favorites or non-favorites. PRAVDA has changed a lot. We realized that, on the one hand, we had to reflect the restructuring in our county and, on the other, we had to restructure ourselves. We had to rethink many things. We are children of our times, and bear the stamp of these times.

[Enchev] In your opinion, has PRAVDA's authority increased in recent times?

[Afanasyev] Yes, and the circulation of PRAVDA provides proof of this. It is difficult to buy a copy of PRAVDA if you are not a subscriber, especially the Friday issue. We are publishing much pointed, interesting material, yet there is still, of course, a considerable amount of mediocre items. We do not avoid analysis of the past either. The negative consequences of "Stalinism" remain in existence to this day. However, this is not the main thing. The main thing is to solve contemporary problems, to find the best progressive experience of restructuring and the people needed for restructuring. We must support this experience and its exponents, disseminate it, and make it a universal possession. We criticize, but try to make our criticism constructive.

[Enchev] A book entitled "Lessons of History" is being prepared, based on articles printed in PRAVDA....

[Afanasyev] All these articles are from PRAVDA's Friday issue. We are now preparing a new version and continuing this work. A second such edition will probably appear by the end of the year. However, history is not the only subject that is generally dealt with in the book. What is the situation now? Many publications are aimed at party headquarters staffs. However it may be, it is thought that the party is responsible for everything. The streets in Moscow are filthy. Who is responsible? The first secretary of the city committee, of course. Something goes wrong somewhere, some plant is not fulfilling its plan—again, the first secretary is the guilty party. Yet surely economic organs and organs of the soviets exist, so where are they in the picture?

We therefore decided to publish a series of essays, consisting of stories about first secretaries. This book, which came out in 1987 and was called "The First Secretary," contained 49 essays, ranging from the rural rayon committee and the smallest party organization, to the secretary of the national Communist Party. The essays are on our best party cadres, who enjoy authority and respect, who educate by means of personal example, and who are working for restructuring without sparing their time or energies. This series is being continued, and we will be publishing another book.

[Enchev] In international relations, the principle "let us learn to live together" is finding increasing numbers of supporters. This is not a slogan, but a way of life under the new conditions. In your opinion, how will relations develop between the socialist countries, and how will we enter the common European home?

[Afanasyev] I think that we will all enter together under the common slogan of socialism—the slogan of our Marxist-Leninist principles. However, we do not necessarily have to march along one and the same road. Socialism, although it shares the same general principles, is developing in different ways, because conditions vary, the levels of development are different, and history varies. There cannot and must not be any unification of socialism. We do not have to copy the experience of others, nor should our own experience be blindly copied. Here, it is evidently necessary to make our own possibilities and conditions the starting point, to utilize the experience of other countries—both socialist, and even capitalist ones—without copying it blindly, but modifying it in accordance with one's own interests, needs, and conditions. There are theoreticians in the Soviet Union who say: either socialism or capitalism, either the market or the centralized planned economy. This is dogmatism. Capitalism is taking elements of the planned economy from us. Not a single capitalist country is developing in an elemental, unorganized manner.

[Enchev] Under the conditions of the new political thinking and the new level of relations even between the socialist countries, what requirements do you, as editor in chief of PRAVDA, impose on your correspondents in the socialist countries?

[Afanasyev] First, we demand that they study the fraternal experience, to enable us to adopt the best elements. Second, we want them to objectively, honestly, and realistically reflect the events in those countries, the real successes, real achievements, real contradictions and shortcomings. For a long time we were afraid to offend one another. Third, we want more information on everyday life, culture, history, notable dates, and outstanding people. However, we do not always succeed in doing this, because the space available is small, and the countries are numerous. Bulgaria often figures on our pages.

[Enchev] What advice do you give to young people who are starting on a journalistic career? Under these complex conditions, what do they have to know, and what should they keep their attention focused on?

[Afanasyev] First, they should study and acquire experience. They should learn from life and learn how to reflect life. More responsibility, greater competence, more professionalism, this is what the work consists of. In our times one has to be a specialist. For example, 1 academician, 6 professors, and about 40 candidates of sciences work in PRAVDA, if one is allowed to boast. I am glad when our young journalists, in addition to their journalistic work, study for research degrees and defend dissertations. In our times, complex tasks must be solved, so one cannot write superficially, and the journalist must be an analyst first and foremost. The smallest inaccuracy, the slightest falsehood is noted by the readership. We can be taken to court regarding our incompetence, and sometimes we fail to set out the facts accurately. We are not interested in sensations or striking facts. We must not represent the world only in black and white, we must show the world with all its contradictions, in its dialectic. Dialectics is a revolutionary science, and revolutionary science inspires optimism.

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov Assesses Plenum Results

*PM0505091089 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
28 Apr 89 p 1*

[Article by political scientist Yevgeniy Ambartsumov: "Gorbachev Is Stronger Now, But..."]

[Text] The outcome of the latest CPSU Central Committee plenum is undoubtedly positive because it moves in the direction of restructuring. The removal of the old leadership class is a good thing, though there was no real renewal, because it was necessary to rely on the existing reserves within the Central Committee, without being able to introduce dynamic forces from outside. The strengthening of Gorbachev's political position is also a good thing. Indeed, it cannot be denied that a kind of enlightened authoritarianism, under given conditions and at the present stage of restructuring, is bound to perform a crucial role in completing the USSR's democratization. It is no mystery to anyone that the CPSU leader has hitherto had to undergo influences of various kinds and of course to submit to compromises.

As far as economic reform is concerned, it is enough to consider the restrictions and constraints that have hampered the development of cooperatives. With regard to the delicate field of political relations and democratic rights, it is enough to cite the recent decree on crimes against the state and its dangerous ambiguity. There are regulations that open the way to the application of penal sanctions not only against those who attack the institutions but also against those, for instance, who through their criticisms urge thorough changes within the party. And yet the promoter and most authoritative spokesman for such criticisms is the CPSU leader himself.

So while the latest Central Committee plenum has the merit of moving in the right direction, it still leaves unresolved the problem of enlarging the social bases of Gorbachev's leadership by developing consistent alliances, above all with the intellectual vanguards. In fact, yet again Gorbachev failed to escape—albeit on the basis of a different balance of forces—a new form of compromise with the bureaucratic groups who lost the elections and who nevertheless in some cases retained their posts or were even promoted from candidate members to members of the Central Committee. Obviously this result will not be understood by the voters.

Nevertheless this is not the essential point, especially in view of the fact that it was necessary, first, to avert the threat of a regression. And this threat was averted. Gorbachev is not surrendering to difficulties and is continuing along the path he himself opened up to advance the country's political democratization and boost socioeconomic reforms. A critical approach must not cause us to forget that every statesman is influenced by the environment in which he works and that politics is the art of the possible, as they say. And Mikhail Gorbachev has yet again proved himself a master of this art.

It is now certainly necessary to tackle the arduous problems of the economy. It is well known that in this field the reforms are marking time. However, there are also limits on glasnost—after all, the powerful driving force behind restructuring—to be surmounted. The tragic events in Georgia showed that national problems have not been made clear by adequate information. I believe that it was precisely the local conservative forces—not the so-called nationalists—who set the mechanism of national conflict in motion. The Georgians' representatives, with whom I have myself had the opportunity to talk, came to Moscow to request support from the public in the capital to avert the threat of a reactionary coup. Basically what they told us was this: Beware, what happened in Tbilisi could happen to you tomorrow. And it emerged clearly in this context too that the forces are tending to group not according to national factors but according to sociopolitical factors.

The outcome of the elections outlined the range of forces at play: on the one hand the apparatus—and even here there are forces in favor of restructuring—which is the stronghold of conservatism, and on the other the great mass of party members who have managed to get in tune with public opinion. The political leadership finds itself between these two thrusts. For while Gorbachev has succeeded in indicating the objectives of restructuring, boldly promoting this process, and staying on course, he has not, however, yet succeeded in creating the instruments and channels for governing renewal, since the apparatus is unable to perform such a role. So Gorbachev is left with the problem of winning over the social and political bases which during the elections produced new driving energies and leaders of restructuring.

Azerbaijan Aktiv Discusses CPSU Plenum Decisions

PM0105133389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Aktiv Meeting"]

[Text] Baku, 28 Apr—A meeting of the republic party and economic aktiv, which discussed the results of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum, was held yesterday. A report was delivered by A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

It was noted that it is necessary to constantly improve the character, forms, and methods of party work, learn to work in conditions of restructuring, concentrate on live contacts with the masses and rally people around joint practical tasks.

Total support and approval for the CPSU Central Committee line and measures to democratize intraparty life was expressed.

Armenian Interior Ministry Notes 6 May Arrests

NC0905071189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 9 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published two startements by the republic's Interior Ministry on its last page. One of them states that on 6 May at 1830 hours a group of irresponsible persons [words indistinct] held an unsanctioned meeting [word indistinct]. (?Forty-two) people have been detained for violating the public law and order.

In the other statement it is said that on 7 May 1989 at (?2200) hours an armed attack took place in Charentsavan City against the local branch of the state bank. The criminals have (?escaped).

Voskanyan Meets With Armenian Catholicos, Clerics

NC3004114789 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 28 Apr 89

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Apr (ARMENPRES)—As we have already reported, Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, on April 22 received Vazken I, catholicos of all Armenians; Garegin II, catholicos of the great house of Cilicia, and the religious and lay entourage accompanying him.

During the conversation, the catholicos of all Armenians briefed Voskanyan on the extensive activity by the Cilician mother seat to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake and pointed to the important role that the Cilician Catholicosate, led by its spiritual leader, plays in the diaspora Armenian life regarding national self-preservation and national and spiritual development.

Vazken I said: It is my conviction and that of Garegin catholicos that our cooperation in that direction must be further galvanized so that through joint forces, and based on the principle of one church, one nation, and one fatherland, we each will fulfill our responsibilities in the interest of our people.

Today, we, the two catholicoses, are ready to proceed together to fulfill our duties in this direction so that in the near future we first can eliminate the consequences of the earthquake, and then gradually pacify our life here in Armenia and make everyone realize that we must do more today than was ever required at any other time and that we need internal peace, unity, mutual understanding and, in particular, creative work.

Vazken I introduced the persons accompanying Garegin II. He mentioned with satisfaction the spirit of harmony existing among the diaspora Armenians, referred to the spirit of unity which brought different parties into the work to assist the motherland, and noted that the catholicos of the great house of Cilicia played a major role in this regard.

His holiness Vazken I expressed his worry over the acute political situation that has developed lately in the Lebanese civil war, which also inflicts considerable damage on the Armenian community, which is maintaining a positive neutrality there.

That is why, he added, I address words of encouragement to our brother Garegin catholicos, wishing peace and mutual understanding between the Christian and Islamic communities there as well. Grant Voskanyan, on behalf of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, warmly greeted Vazken I and Garegin II and their entourage on the occasion of their visit to the motherland. Addressing the visitors, Voskanyan said: You have come to the motherland in difficult times. As a result of the disaster which struck the whole of northern Armenia, we lost entire cities, numerous villages, and thousands of human lives. This grave situation, in which 520,000 people were left homeless and 80,000 jobs were lost, has been compounded by the fact that 200,000 Armenians have come here from the neighboring republic. These are basically urban people with urban specializations, whereas those who left Armenia were basically rural dwellers, specializing on animal breeding and in growing vegetables. Time is needed to furnish them with housing and jobs. Our priority problem is to provide houses for those living under tents before winter arrives, to build schools, preschool institutions, and hospitals.

In this grave situation, the hope-inspiring thing is that for the first time in our centuries-old history we feel that we are not alone.

Grant Voskanyan then spoke about the effective measures taken by the USSR Government, all the union republics, and by the Armenian SSR leadership to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake and the disinterested assistance of the Soviet peoples. He also gratefully acknowledged the sympathy and intense human compassion that was shown by the peoples of many foreign countries and diaspora Armenian communities which readily responded to the misfortunate in Armenia.

Grant Voskanyan thankfully underlined the important role that the catholicos of all Armenians played through wise words and actions.

Addressing Garegin II, Voskanyan thanked him for the contribution he made through his enormous authority so that our diaspora compatriots, by assuming a correct stance, could help the motherland to extricate itself from this grave situation.

Garegin II, the catholicos of the great house of Cilicia, while thanking Voskanyan for the meeting, said that this will be an unforgettable moment not only for him personally but also from the point of view of the Cawtholicosate. This is obvious. I have had the honor of meeting many presidents of foreign people and countries, but you cannot imagine what it means for an Armenian catholicos residing abroad to meet with the president of the Presidium of the state of the Armenian people. This will enhance my zeal and strength in facing this disaster.

Garegin II expressed the hope that the Armenian people, with its branches in Armenia and in the diaspora, will jointly work to shed the oppressive psychology that set in after the disaster and, as was the case in its centuries-old history, could emerge victorious from this terrible experience as well.

Present at the meeting were Uren Avedisyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Nelli Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Stepan Vartanyan, chairman of the Committee on Armenian Church Affairs attached to the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Public Questions Safety of Zaporozhskaya AES

18220109 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 May 89 p 3

[Article by V. Sandul, engineer, Nikopol: "Zealously Protected"]

[Text] **Not so long ago Nikopol residents discovered in their mailboxes a "Reminder to the population...." in the event of an accident at the Zaporozhskaya AES [nuclear electric power station]. Just the reminder itself makes one lose confidence in the promise of accident-free operation of the AES, and the question arises: Where are we going with the program for "AES-ization" of the country? And if one also takes into account the admission of Minister of Atomic Power N. Lukonin concerning the poor quality of AES equipment and the frequent shutdowns of reactors, which he made at a meeting of the permanent commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, one feels like taking the map and looking to see if there are any places left in the USSR where one can live without being a hostage of the Ministry of Atomic Power.**

The atomic energy station located 10-15 kilometers from Nikopol is called Zaporozhskaya. Nearby are the cities of Marganets, Ordzhonikidze, Energodar, Kamenka-Dneprovskaya, and other population points where about a million people live. The significance of the Nikopol-Marganets basin for the country is known, not to mention the two plants of unionwide significance in Nikopol (has anyone ever made a comparison of the cost of the station and the harm that would be caused by evacuation of the population points and the enterprises?)

But how did they begin to construct the Zaporozhskaya AES?

In the beginning on the left bank of the Kakhovka water reservoir there appeared a thermal electric power station [TES], and then, confirming the rumors (try not to believe them), an atomic energy station as well. It turns out that the same pattern can be observed in other regions—probably to keep the public calm. Therefore the arguments that an AES is considerably cleaner than a TES is not for us, and one can only guess how much fallout of products of fuel combustion and moisture from the AES cooling ponds there will be and where it will fall.

For a certain amount of time we could not understand why the delegate to the 19th party Conference, B. Oleynik, stopped mentioning the Zaporozhskaya AES (the texts of his speeches printed in the newspaper differ from those read over television and radio). It turns out that the director of the Zaporozhskaya AES, also a delegate to the party conference, somehow managed to persuade him to stop mentioning his station. One must assume that there was a reason for these actions, and he did not want to notify the entire country of the pollution of the Kakhovka water reservoir.

Incidentally, we still do not know what happened to the appeal of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] scientific-technical and creative intelligentsia, "On revising the program for the development of atomic energy in the Ukraine," which B. Oleynik brought up for consideration at the 19th party conference. So it would seem that there was something for the director to avoid when he resorted to the device of silence to protect departmental secrets. For the Zaporozhskaya AES is located in our region in the most irresponsible and thoughtless way. Another use was found for the long-suffering Kakhovka water reservoir with its water polluted by industry, agriculture, and domestic wastes.

And they ignored even the requirements of departmental normatives ("Guidelines for Radiation Safety," "Recommendations of the International Commission on Radiation Protection") where it says: "When selecting a location for a research reactor and AES, it is first of all necessary to take into account sanitary and technical requirements which will provide for warning of harmful effects from the AES on the surrounding space and the local population. It is necessary to select a sparsely populated location with deep ground waters as a site for the construction of an AES."

Is it true that in our case the AES only consumes water? The cooling ponds with their sandy bottoms and dams prevent discharge into the water reservoir? And evaporation from the surface of the pond or cooling towers? Where do the blowdown waters go? How do the ground waters flow in the vicinity of the AES, toward it or away from it?

But clarity concerning the pollution of the water reservoir with radionuclides was finally provided by the head engineer of the Zaporozhskaya AES, T. Plokhiy, and the chief of the department of safety and reliability, V. Artemchuk, who in a discussion with L. Taranenko (LITERATURNAYA UKRAINA of 6 October 1988) noted as a positive phenomenon the accumulation of radiation by the fish since they can be...caught and buried and thus the radiation in the reservoir can be reduced (?!). This is indeed the time simply to throw up one's hands.

But we should like to obtain answers to a number of questions. Is it possible to eat the fish from the pond and if not, when will we begin to bury them? Is it possible to drink the water without special purification devices that remove the radionuclides? If so, for how long? How many atomic reactors will be constructed? Questions without answers. So we have to feed on rumors.

Ukrainian SSR Minister of Health A. Romanenko writes in one of his articles: "To our great sorrow we cannot dispel the rumors or the feeling of alarm on the part of the population or even a certain mistrust of us, the medical experts." But what do they expect if the population is only allowed to read "reminders"?

Representatives of the Ministry of Atomic Power and the directors of the atomic energy station will not condescend to hold meetings with the community of the city. Representatives of the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the Ministry of Health make superficial, generally reassuring statements. But after what happened in Chernobyl this is not enough. We have already become convinced that zealous protection of departmental secrets leads to large problems. We all want to work peacefully, raise healthy children, and not be hostages of departments that demand the diversion of rivers, that transform nature, and create man-made seas which are subsequently to be used for cooling reactors.

Politburo Commission on Repressions Completes Work

LD0505170989 Moscow TASS in English 1541 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—The commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee for the additional study of materials connected with repressions that took place in the 30s-40s and early 50s has summed up the initial results of its work.

As it was noted, one of the important results was a thorough analysis of the materials of trials and of extrajudicial bodies on so-called cases of "the anti-Soviet right-wing Trotskiyite bloc", "the Leningrad affair", "the anti-Soviet Trotskiyite military organization", "the parallel anti-Soviet Trotskiyite centre", "the anti-Soviet united Trotskiyite-Zinoviyevite centre", "the Moscow centre", "the union of Marxist-Leninists", "the Moscow counterrevolutionary organization—'workers opposition' group" and "the Jewish anti-fascist committee". A large number of prominent party and government functionaries, economic managers and military officials stood trial in connection with these cases.

As it has been established, all these trials were falsified and were conducted with gross violations of socialist legality. The persons against whom criminal proceeding were instituted on invented charges of anti-state and anti-party activity have been given full legal rehabilitation. The membership of many of them in the Soviet Communist Party has been restored. The question of party membership of others are being considered.

The preparation is being completed for the commission's discussion of materials related to trials on the so-called cases of "the Leningrad counterrevolutionary Zinoviyevite group", "the Leningrad centre", "the all-union Trotskiyite centre", "the Bukharin school" and "the Rykov school".

The commission noted that the process of the rehabilitation in judiciary and party procedures in the centre and in localities is being conducted in a planned way and meets with approval and growing support of the public.

Among those who made appeals for rehabilitation were also persons who have committed grievous crimes in the past. They include traitors of the motherland, Nazi criminals, participants in nationalist bands and their supporters, persons who falsified criminal cases. The appeals of such persons have not been satisfied.

With the participation of party, government and law enforcement bodies the commission analysed some 9,000 letters and applications it has received. In these applications there is a considerable number of appeals for legal and party rehabilitation, the supply of fuller information about the circumstances of the death of innocent people, applications for assistance in the quest of archive documents, identifying places of burial, restoration of awards. A considerable number of applications is about the restoration of damage and return of rehabilitated persons to localities from which they have been illegally evicted, requests for the improvement of their housing conditions, supply with pensions, medical care.

The Politburo commission continues its work.

Moscow Library Fire Under Investigation

LD0605125889 Moscow TASS in English 1236 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—It has taken a little more than an hour to put out a fire in the centre of Moscow, in a building of the Lenin all-union state library of the USSR today. The fire began in the premises housing the accounts department and other auxiliary services. There are no casualties. The causes of the fire are being investigated.

New Weekly To Broach Intellectual Issues

LD0405185589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] Tomorrow sees the appearance of yet another all-union newspaper. It is a weekly, called POISK [search], and will concentrate on "topical issues in modern science, politics, education, economics, ecology, and history." Editor in chief A.V. Mitroshenkov explains that the first issue features the previously unpublished letter written to Khrushchev by Academician Petr Leonidovich Kapitsa, 30 years ago, in which he suggested the establishment of an all-union newspaper for scientists. Khrushchev failed to reply. Mitroshenkov goes on to say that he hopes that major specialists will contribute to the paper, so that it becomes a truly living organ for the exchange of opinion on intellectual issues and large-scale economic projects that may prove disastrous for the environment. Although the editorial board contains many leading scientists, the paper is intended for the general public as well as scientists. [video shows printing presses in action, editorial work in progress, interview, close-up of front page of the paper, focusing on the letter, which is printed under the heading "After 30 Years"; other articles shown are entitled "SOS From the Ship of the Economy," "Goodbye, Phobos!" and "Stroll in the Biofield." The final video sequence shows the part of the newspaper giving subscription details]

German-Language TV Program Aired in Kazakhstan

PM0405154789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "TV Program in German"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The first German-language show, "Guten Abend!" ("Good Evening!"), has been aired in Kazakhstan for the republic's German-speaking population.

"The aim of the program is to promote the maintenance and development of the language, culture, and traditions of Soviet citizens of German extraction," A. Frank, chief of the German TV Department, noted. "Our broadcasts will cover various aspects of Soviet Germans' lives and their participation in restructuring processes. There are many well-known scientists, public figures, artistes, and musicians of German extraction in Kazakhstan."

The scale of German-language broadcasting will be gradually stepped up. It is planned to set up corresponding centers in Tselinograd, Pavlodar, and Karaganda.

Soviet Germans Interviewed on Autonomy

LD0405165289 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 4 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 4 TASS—Many representatives of Soviet Germans favour the restoration of the autonomous republic in the Volga region, which was abolished in 1941. This demand is also put forward by the cultural and educational society, Revival, which was created slightly more than a month ago. Special correspondents of TASS news agency and the NEUES LEBEN newspaper met several authoritative people and asked them to express their view on this problem.

"My colleagues and I were of the opinion and keep holding the view that German autonomy in some or other form should be restored to tackle pressing issues of the Soviet Germans' national development", Yuriy Baranov, secretary of the Saratov Regional Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, told the journalists. "There are approximately 20,000 Germans in our region at present and some 30,000 in the Volgograd region. These are families which have returned to their pre-war 'small homeland' in the last ten to fifteen years".

"National revival processes, including the restoration of the German autonomy in some or other form, should take place in a natural way," the party leader went on. "But the approach to dealing with problems of inter-ethnic relations should be weighed and thought-out, without haste. Emotions should not be allowed to take the upper hand over reason to the detriment of the matter. Specifically, creating or restoring a territorial-administrative entity is not only and not so much an act of the state and legal nature but is also a large and comprehensive system of measures of the economic, social, demographic and personnel nature.

"This entails re-orientating economic links, new capital construction, and a host of other problems. All this should be substantiated, thoroughly estimated and scientifically grounded. It seems to me that it should be clearly defined how many of our compatriots would like to go to the Volga, in what terms and from what places. The number of Germans who lived on the Volga is barely enough for a district now. The reserve of the available jobs and prospects which are being opened in future for people of different qualifications should be taken into account to assure full employment," Barnov said.

Some of the Soviet Germans who have recently been elected people's deputies of the USSR shared their thoughts with the journalists concerning autonomy. Alexander Pfeifer, leader of a team of workers on lease contracts at the Iskra state farm in the Orenburg region, said he was in favour of restoring the Kichkassky German area which had existed since last century till 1937.

Garri Shtoik, people's deputy of the USSR and director of the East-Kazakhstan integrated copper-and-chemical mill of the Kazpolmetall production association, declared for preserving and developing the culture of almost a million of Germans living in Kazakhstan. "At the same time," he says, "it is difficult to imagine a mechanical resettlement of all Soviet Germans into a separate area. This can damage not only the interests of other large groups of the population. Most of Soviet Germans struck deep roots where they live now. Shall we make them leave long-occupied places?"

PRAVDA Reviews IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS No 4

PM0105135189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Apr 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS"]

[Text] Issue No 4 of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS has been published and is being dispatched to subscribers. It opens with a report on the work of the party's Central Committee in March 1989 which centered on the campaign for the elections of USSR people's deputies and the elaboration of the basic guidelines of the party's agrarian policy at the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

Other materials under the rubric "At the CPSU Central Committee" include the Central Committee Politburo resolution on the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Central Committee Secretariat resolution on the results of a check carried out into the work of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. Continuing the publication of documents adopted after April 1985, the journal acquaints readers with the full text of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo resolution of 7 June 1988 "On Enhancing the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Resolving the Soviet Society's Key Social Problems."

The issue carries reports on the results of the work of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission in 1988 and its tasks for 1989 and on regular sessions of the CPSU Central Committee commissions on legal and socioeconomic policy.

It is reported that seven sessions of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee were held in March at which 134 appeals and statements on personal party questions were heard, and the results of checks carried out in a number of the country's party organizations were discussed.

IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS continues to publish materials of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the additional examination of materials connected with the repressions of the thirties, forties, and early fifties. Materials connected with the case of the so-called "anti-Soviet Trotskyist military organization" in the Red Army are elucidated.

The "Information and Chronicle" section features excerpts from delegates' speeches at kray and oblast report-and-election party conferences, a report on the progress of the implementation of CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum decisions on questions of public education, and also a number of memoranda sent to the CPSU Central Committee by the USSR People's Control Committee, USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Culture. "Glasnost and Democracy. Public Opinion on Restructuring"—this is the title of a sociological study carried out by CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences scientific staff.

A roundup of talks, meetings, and conversations held in March 1989 acquaints readers with the party's international ties.

The "CPSU Central Committee Mailbag" section features materials about work with working people's letters received at the CPSU Central Committee in 1988 and letters and proposals received in connection with preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions on the agrarian policy. Letters in accordance with which instructions from CPSU Central Committee secretaries have been issued and implemented are also featured here.

In the archive section the publication of the chronicle of Central Committeee activities is continued. It covers the events of May-June 1918. The main items in this section are devoted to materials connected with Lenin. New documents of V.I. Lenin are featured, as well as formerly unpublished reminiscences, letters, and documents of N.K. Krupskaya, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, Ye.A. Preobrazhenskiy, N.A. Uglanov, V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, A.A. Ioffe, and N.I. Bukharin. The section concludes with a review of issue No 3 of IZVESTIYA TSK RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] for 191.

Leningrad Elderly Provided Free Canteen

PM2804095589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 89 p 1

[I. Potekhina article: "Doors Open Wide. Free Canteen for Elderly Opens in Leningrad"]

[Text] Leningrad—The canteen had not been reopened as such—it had long been an ordinary canteen. But now there are changes to its timetable: Between 3 and 4 in the afternoon its doors are closed to ordinary customers—the tables and the homey service are enjoyed by the elderly.

"It's terrible to say this but there are people in the country today who go hungry," I was told at the "Mercy" Society. "Statistics show that one-third of all pensioners earn less than R60 a month, at a time when the poverty line is around R75. Leningrad is probably one of the 'oldest' of cities: Almost one-fourth of its residents—1.1 million people—are pensioners. You can work out how many of them are below the poverty line. So our canteen, which can feed 100 people at most, is a drop in the bucket."

The opening of the canteen is an experiment. What has it proved? Of the 68 people receiving social security food tokens, only 60 eat there every day—the rest cannot come because of their health. This means that we must think about how to provide them with meals at home. To do this assistants would be needed....

It also transpired that the canteen, although called a health-food canteen, is not in a position to provide real health food, however much the cooks may try. Not a single kilogram of cottage cheese, for instance, has been delivered for the past 2 weeks.

It takes R25,000 a year to open just one free canteen. Every rayon should have such a canteen. And not just one.

Economic

Economist Examines Objectives of Tax Policy

PM0805160389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Shcherbakov, member of the USSR Council of Ministers Commission for the Improvement of the Economic Mechanism, under the rubric "Economic Reform Is the Foundation of Restructuring": "Taxation Is Not Quitrent If It Properly Regulates Enterprises' Relations With Departments"]

[Text] The organization of an effective tax system marks the natural transition to economic methods of running the national economy. A number of entirely new concepts are opening up for all of us. We must be prepared to explain them.

Let us start by stating that the Soviet economy should become more integrated with the world economy. Consequently, the tax system being created in our country should take account of developing world trends in taxation, be based on similar principles, and create favorable conditions for attracting foreign capital and exporting Soviet capital.

A number of specialists believe that tax should only be payable on end products. Others claim that not only distribution of end products, but consumption of resources should be regulated by taxation. Which is better? This is a very difficult question.

In a saturated market, when the main role in the economy is played by consumers virtually dictating their conditions to producers, a system based on taxation of profits may be used. But our specific conditions are different: There are great shortages in the economy, there is no real competition among producers, and the economy is not balanced either in terms of the commodity, money, material, and financial aspects, or in terms of product ranges—individual prices of goods and services, production plans, and resources.

Nowadays enterprises for all intents and purposes pay no tax for their labor resources or basic kinds of material and natural resources. These payments, as a rule, are a component of prices. But this represents, so to speak, indirect regulation of the use of resources. We need instead a diversified tax system for the different types of resources used in production. This would make it possible to translate the social, economic, ecological, and other aims of society and the state into economic incentives for specific enterprises.

One point at issue is the matter of taxes on enterprises' production capital. Many specialists believe that a payment on the capital or a corresponding tax should be avoided on the basis that this kind of payment runs counter to the overall system of management under present-day conditions. In their opinion, such a payment is a form of taxation on past labor embodied in production capital and is not linked directly to production efficiency. Recognition of the equality of different forms of socialist ownership and their further development, in the opinion of these specialists, deprives the state of its monopoly right to all production capital in the national economy. Above all, this applies to capital goods created from economically accountable profits and joint-stock capital. It is also important that the removal of some profit in the form of payment for capital increases the actual amount of nonretained [izymayemyy] profit, and as a result a larger amount of profit goes to the budget.

Moreover, how are marginally profitable or loss-making enterprises supposed to pay for their capital? These arguments are serious and should not be disregarded.

On the other hand, if a profits tax is too high it will reduce enterprises' interest in boosting profits and will seriously affect investment processes. Moreover, the state is for all intents and purposes deprived of the opportunity of pursuing a flexible depreciation policy.

I think that payments for capital should be transformed under the new conditions into an **ownership tax** payable by all legal persons, irrespective of the form of ownership, on the basis of output prime cost. This tax could be levied by local soviets within a restricted legal framework and form part of local budget revenue. Such a solution, first, would remove the question of financial sources for creating production capital, and, second, would create an interest on the part of local organs in developing production in the region and in locating there enterprises under all-union, republic, and local jurisdiction. Third, it would make it possible to take account of the differences between local features, the technical standard of the material base, the safety and environment-friendly nature of production, and so forth.

What should be taxable?

First, taxation is a method of distributing surplus value between enterprise and state. The economic meanings of the terms "surplus value" and "profit" more or less coincide. But "income," unlike surplus value, includes wage costs.

Second, real economic equality means that the difference in forms of ownership (such as in economic accountability models) should not produce unjustifiable growth or a fall in income for either the state or the collective.

Third, income cannot be taxed at a single rate for the additional reason that the proportion of income made up of wage funds fluctuates between 9 and 90 percent depending on sectors. Regional factors have a very substantial impact on this indicator.

In short, profit rather than income should be taxed. In the vast majority of developed countries net profit is taxable. In calculating this profit, we should rely on world experience in classifying production costs. Otherwise the barrier preventing our economy from being integrated into the world system will be maintained.

The situation regarding the growth of the population's monetary income is such now and in the foreseeable future that, on the one hand, it is impossible to avoid regulating the volume of funds paid as wages, while on the other hand, it is increasingly difficult to do this by means of single normatives without taking into account the features of the spheres, types, and conditions of activity undertaken by specific collectives. I think that here, too, normatives should be replaced by a special **consumption fund tax**—that is, a tax on monetary or equivalent income earned by redistributing the surplus product or profit [produkt-pribyl]. The form taken by the distribution of these funds is unimportant: be it in specie (bonuses or dividend payments) or in kind (holiday discounts, subsidized works canteens, awards of valuable gifts, and so forth).

The creation of a single wages and social development fund is one practical step toward the further expansion of labor collectives' rights with regard to the use of funds earned. It is also planned now to remove the "barrier" between these funds. But behind this lies the real danger that workers' immediate interests will prevail and the bulk of the money will be used to boost wages. This would lead not only to the winding down of major social programs and a further lag in this sphere, but to an unchecked development of inflationary processes. The transition to taxation could form a basis for resolving this contradiction. By levying higher taxes on the proportion of profit used to pay out dividends in direct monetary or concealed physical form (consumption funds) it could be possible to apply substantially lower rates or to exempt from tax altogether those funds used to build housing and children's institutions, to develop the health and education systems, to train cadres, and so on. This would make it possible to channel labor collectives' economic interests in the right direction and to purposefully pursue a statewide policy, actively using enterprises' economically accountable funds for priority social purposes.

The possibility of making unified demands on entities engaged in economic activity [khozyaystvuyushchiye subyetky] is a substantial advantage of taxation as opposed to economic normatives. A number of specialists—theoretists and practical scientists—propose introducing **unified tax rates** for all legal persons irrespective of the sphere, type, and conditions of their activity. At first glance this accords with the principle of equality. But the fact is that the new economic management mechanism is still by no means perfect, it is not an **integral, interconnected, and balanced system.**

A unified tax rate would be workable if we accepted different prices for goods with equal consumer qualities. The most tangible consequence of the introduction of a unified rate would be sharp movements by all prices in the national economy.

More correct would be another option—making equally intensive demands on economic components from the standpoint of the efficiency of their production, use of resources, and distribution of earned product.

This means that a unified tax rate should be supplemented by a range of **temporary** concessions aimed at equalizing the economic conditions governing the running of enterprises and, on the other hand, at regulating the activity of the national economic complex by making certain types of activity or the production of certain types of output economically advantageous. This means that profit used for purposes that, in the state's view, are particularly valuable, would either be taxed at the lowest rate or would be exempt from tax altogether. This measure could be used to boost the growth of capacity developed out of enterprise profit—capacity for the production of children's goods or goods for the elderly, for instance. Such measures are also of great importance for equalizing the economic conditions for the development of the social sphere, because enterprises' actual spending on these purposes differs.

In order to maintain a high incentive role for taxes it would be expedient to set tax rates no higher than 47 percent of net profit. Although even higher rates of up to 55-60 percent are levied in a number of developed countries.

How should a tax scale be drawn up and on what principles? A number of specialists propose using rates based on a unified percentage of profit irrespective of the profitability of production or the size of total profits. This is a so-called **flat-rate [lineynyy] tax.** Under present-day conditions this is hardly justifiable. After all, we retain the principle of centralized pricing for many types of output. And prices are based on socially necessary expenditure—that is, account is taken of average sector expenditure. Consequently, certain enterprises have higher profits and others have lower profits. A flat-rate tax—that is, a unified, median [usrednennyy] rate of this type would lead either to a growth in enterprises' unearned income or to an infringement of the economic interests of collectives that work well.

It would be more expedient to introduce a progressive taxation scale under which rates would depend on levels of profitability, making it less painful to adapt the tax system to the real situation in our national economy. This is also very important from the standpoint of working out an active anti-inflation policy, because a progressive tax scale would reduce enterprises' desire to boost profits through unjustifiable price rises.

I would particularly like to mention **turnover tax.** It provides a considerable proportion of budgetary income. But it should not be forgotten that turnover is the sphere where goods prices can be "ratcheted up" most of all. The more processing stages and trading operations that goods have to go through before reaching the customer, the greater will be the consequent "buildup" of the tax component in the price. As a result, prices can rapidly become divorced from their objective basis. They become based not on cost or even supply and demand, but on the number of procedures undergone by semi-manufactures during the manufacturing process.

Unfortunately, we have had more than enough sorry experience of building up gross indicators in isolation from the growth of physical goods. Taxes based on prices "hiked" in this way fill the budget with funds that bear no relation to real goods and accumulations. One of the main ways of solving this problem in the future is to switch to the **value-added tax** system, which is used worldwide. However, this is hardly possible today, because—as a result of the irrational structure of production, the imbalance between supply and demand, and the lack of balance in the economy as a whole—it could lead to the unequal accumulation of tax on retail turnover.

There are many other aspects of the tax system. We will note just two of the "sorest" points. The first is: What should be the nature of taxation and, consequently, the law on taxation? Should it be direct in effect—that is, targeted directly at entities engaged in economic activity—or should it merely regulate the general directions of people's actions?

On the one hand, the formation of a rule-of-law state means that all spheres of life—including economic spheres—are subject to legislative regulation, that is, directly by the Supreme Soviet. That is why the law on taxation should be direct in its effect. On the other hand, the experience of a number of countries shows that the creation of a law is an extremely complex and protracted process. For instance, the Canadian law on the taxation of enterprise profits alone runs to 2,000-odd pages of wafer-thin paper in a typeface three times smaller than usual. And it is accompanied by a further 40-odd volumes of various interpretations and legal precedents. This law has been more than 75 years in the making. It is understandable that with the best will in the world, we will not be able to reach that level in 2-3 years.

Our domestic experience shows us that although laws may be very progressive when published, during their subsequent interpretation numerous departmental instructions may appear which often emasculate the law. This is a real danger today, too. How can it be avoided? Clearly, we must seek another path—without delaying the search, however, because such a delay would lead to holdups over the adoption of this law that is so necessary.

The second question relates to the regional aspects of taxation. Its foundations are set out in the draft general principles for the restructuring of the leadership of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of expanding their sovereign rights, self-government, and self-financing. The essence of the proposed solution is that no level of administration (union, republic, or local) should be indifferent to the results of the work of production components. At the same time, no entity engaged in economic activity should be able to sponge off social consumption funds without contributing to their development. And the upkeep of the Army, the state apparatus, and border protection also have to be paid for.

All enterprises, irrespective of their subordination, should pay taxes to the union, republic, and local budget at fixed rates, which will, of course, vary depending on the level of an enterprise's subordination.

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Agricultural

Ligachev, Vlasov Attend Agriculture Conference

LD0605222689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] A zonal seminar-conference on the foodstuffs reserves of the non-Chernozem Zone took place 5-6 May in Kaluga Oblast. Taking part in the seminar were secretaries of oblast party committees; chairmen of councils of ministers of autonomous republics; chairmen of executive committees of oblast soviets of people's deputies, agro-industrial committees, and trade union councils of oblasts and autonomous republics; secretaries of oblast committees of the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League]; chairmen of oblast and republican consumers' unions of the non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian Federation; and representatives of central departments and machine building ministries.

The seminar was opened by Ligachev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. A report was made by Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers chairman. The speaker analyzed in detail the state of affairs with the development of collective horticulture and market gardening. The report devoted major attention to the issue of satisfying the demand for small-scale machinery in rural areas.

The results of the seminar-conference were summarized by Comrade Ligachev. He noted that the CPSU Central Comittee March plenum had put forward as a primary task of restructuring in the coming years the task of removing the acuteness of foodstuffs supplies to the country's population. The issue of strengthening man's position on the land remains a special one. Comrade Ligachev stressed that it is the task of local soviets, economic organs, and consumers' cooperatives in the non-Chernozem Zone, as in all other regions of the country, to improve living conditions of rural workers and step up the production of agricultural raw material, its processing, and the output of foodstuffs produce—that is, to arrange things in such a way that in each rayon the population is provided with the foodstuffs which can, and therefore must, be produced on the spot.

Vlasov Tours Fish Farm

LD0605222789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A seminar-conference on issues relating to accelerating the social reorganization of the countryside, expanding cooperation between industrial and agricultural enterprises, and developing family farms, collective horticulture, and market gardening ended today in Kaluga.

[Unidentified correspondent] At the party Central Committee's March plenum agricultural shops at industrial enterprises were designated a full-fledged form of agriculture. The subsidiary holding at the Kaluga Motor Building Association was set up 11 years ago. Its main activity is pig breeding. [passage omitted]

The participants in the seminar came here to glean experience. [Video shows Ligachev, Vlasov, and others being lectured]

This fish farm is one of the agricultural shops at the Kaluga Turbine Works association. Housed in the works' production area, this farm was built using the popular construction method. [Video shows scenes of the fish farm and visitors]

[Begin recording] [A.V. Vlasov] It is a great thing that has been done—250 tonnes of fish annually. That is a very high figure. I would imagine the seminar participants will take note of this experience. And so they should, (?I think). The cost is not terribly great; the equipment is there. What is needed is the initiative.

In Moscow Oblast the opportunities to build shops such as these and produce fish are great. At the moment there's only the Shatura TETs [heat and electric power station].

[Unidentified correspondent] I have not seen any like this in Moscow, nor in Moscow Oblast.

[Vlasov] No. Well, some 7,000 tonnes are produced in Moscow Oblast. You must agree that that is very little for Moscow Oblast. We have to learn. There is a good example to be found here. [Video shows interview with Vlasov] [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] In the village of Anenka an exhibition of machinery was put on for the participants in the seminar-conference. [passage omitted] [Video shows machinery]

[Announcer] At a plenary session the results of the seminar-conference were summed up by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev.

'Freak' Cold Weather Kills Tajikistan Crops

LD0505141189 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Dushanbe May 5 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Aleksandr Nemirovskiy:

Freak cold weather in Tajikistan in Soviet Central Asia has devastated the republic's agriculture.

Vegetable seedlings have been damaged, and the local authorities turned for help to their neighbours. New seedlings will be sent by plane as soon as the weather improves.

Frosts have also affected sprouts of cotton, the major crops of Tajikistan. Cotton will be resowed and late sprouts will ensure a drasticallhy reduced harvest. In the mountains many sheep, brought to the pastures, were killed under ove sudden snow.

Peasants will be given insurance compensation, but this is a small consolation as most of their year's work has been rendered fruitless.

Cold air rushed into valleys and turned into tornadoes. In some places the wind speed reached 50 metres per second. Roofs were torn off settlements, communication and power lines were damaged. Luckily, there was no loss of life.

Heavy rains caused landslides. As a result, a mountainous highway, connecting the republic's capital with agricultural areas, was seriously hit. Repair workers have started removing ground to clear the highway and restore traffic flow.

Central heating has (?been) repaired in towns, but according to weather forecasts, it will soon be warmer in Tajikistan anyway.

Scientific

Nuclear-Powered Icebreaker Featured on TV Show

OW0505033389

[Editorial Report] Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese at 1200 GMT on 30 April broadcasts the first installment of a special serial program "The Arctic Circle." This 60-minute installment is entitled "Crack Open the Vast Frozen Sea: Aboard a Soviet Nuclear-Powered Icebreaker." It features Soviet efforts to keep the Arctic sea route open all year round and to internationalize it for the development of Siberia. The narrator says that the Gorbachev regime has set the development of Siberian resources as the most important national task and adds that icebreakers hold the key for the success or failure of accomplishing this task.

The feature begins by giving a synopsis of an icebreaking mission assigned to the "Arktika," which leaves Murmansk, its homeport, on 17 May 1988 to help a fleet of freighters from the Soviet Far East to get to the easternmost Soviet Arctic port of Pevek through the frozen sea. Video shows the "Arktika" making its way through the frozen sea, an outline of the Arctic sea route, and various shots of the icebreaker.

The narrator says that the icebreaker is 150 meters long with a displacement tonnage of 23,000 tons and output of 75,000 horsepower. It has a crew of 150 men and is captained by (Kharavbastok), who has been in command for the past 10 years. According to the captain, navigation through the Arctic sea route in the summer is no problem if there is an icebreaker. The narrator says that the route is now kept open from May through November and that the Soviet Union wants to keep it open all year round. After reviewing the history of Soviet icebreaker development, including the introduction of nuclear power in the 1950's, the feature briefly shows the upper part of the nuclear reactor housed amidship and a steam generator and a fuel control rod driving gear seen through a leaded protective window. The narrator says that the icebreaker uses a 150,000-kw pressure-type reactor shielded in a 1-meter-thick protective wall.

Video cuts to a control room where an officer comments on the possibility of radioactive contamination. He says the danger at places where the crew works is "from one-tenth to one-twelfth of the standard level." [no further elaboration]

According to the narrator, the Soviet Union currently has four Soviet-built nuclear-powered icebreakers which are all deployed in the Arctic sea.

The feature cuts to Pevek, introducing its role as the only loading port in the region, which abounds in gold, zinc, lumber, and other resources. Narrator describes the hardships of living in such a desolate, freezing climate. Video shows street scenes, empty warehouses, and children getting artificial sunshine.

The feature cuts to scenes in Magadan, a port in the Sea of Okhotsk, where cement, powder, vegetables, and other goods are being loaded on large transports, which are heading for the Arctic by way of the Bering Sea.

The narrator describes the preferential treatment given to Arctic crews such as thorough medical checkups, artificially grown vegetables, and "exceptionally high" wages—monthly pay of 1,000 rubles for a 10-year veteran, which is equivalent to what a Cabinet minister makes. He says that all this shows the emphasis being placed on the development of Siberian resources.

The feature cuts to a team of geologists conducting resource surveys in the tundra of the Arctic region with shots of prospecting and a gold mine. A chief engineer at the gold mine says that the mine produces "gold of high purity" averaging 1.5 kg per 300 cubic meters.

The feature cuts back to the "Arktika" which is now in a danger zone in the (Vilkitskiy) Strait facing its first obstacle, 3-meter-thick ice which makes it impossible to maintain a speed of 200 miles a day. The captain calls a meeting of cadres to discuss how to open the route through "the worst ice in 20 years."

The feature then cuts to the Dickson Sea-Lane Direction Center where personnel analyze meteorological data collected from satellites including "Noah" and conduct aerial observations of the frozen sea.

The feature cuts to show the president of the Murmansk Shipping Co., (Utkin), being interviewed. He describes the advantages of the Arctic sea route and its importance in helping the Soviet Union earn foreign exchange and revitalize its economy.

The feature further cuts to show interviews with the chairman of the Arctic Committee of the United States, (Lordler), and a Soviet official who attended a Leningrad international conference on joint Arctic studies held in December 1988. They discuss the importance of developing and internationalizing the Arctic Circle.

The feature cuts to show CPSU Politburo member Zaykov attending a Finnish shipyard ceremony to launch the icebreaker ("Taymir"). The narrator says that the Soviets plan to build another two for service in the Arctic.

The feature cuts back to the "Arktika" with video showing the upper portion of the ship's reactor, zooming in on a filter that checks the coolant. According to the narrator, the filter makes it possible to detect any abnormal condition, and safety checks are conducted three times a day at 8-hour intervals. Safety is also checked around the clock by the central control room through a monitor camera. Video shows a crewman who has been exposed to 20 roentgens of radioactivity on a particular day, bringing to 2,750 roentgens his accumulated radioactivity for the year, which is described as "a considerably large amount."

The feature then cuts to show a sea-lane control official giving emergency instructions on 20 June to the "Arktika" to proceed to the eastern Arctic sea to rescue a fleet of transports enclosed in ice 800 km away. The narrator says the "Arktika" is moving east at full speed but runs into an unexpected accident; one of its screws breaks.

The 6-ton, 2-meter-long screw made of special alloy is replaced by divers flown to the ship from the coast. The icebreaker resumes its mission after 3 days of repairs.

The narrator describes the voyage of the "Arktika" saying 40 days after leaving Murmansk and 1 week after receiving the emergency instructions, the "Arktika" meets the fleet in frozen waters north of the Bering Sea. The fleet is stuck in 2-meter-thick ice. Video shows the "Arktika" breaking the ice around the fleet. The fleet includes a cargo ship carrying natural gas pipes from the Japanese port of Kimitsu in Chiba Prefecture. It takes the "Arktika" half a day to free the six-ship fleet from the frozen sea.

The feature then cuts back to Pevek port preparing for shipping supplies to inland areas. Video shows port officials, including the city mayor and the regional Communist Party first secretary, meeting to discuss the shortage of truck drivers.

In conclusion, the narrator again stresses the importance of the Arctic sea route for developing Siberia and earning foreign exchange, calling it "a big pillar" in the Soviet restructuring policy.

According to the credits, the feature was planned and produced by NHK jointly with NHK Enterprise and in cooperation with the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting as well as with BBC of the UK, TVO of Canada, CH-7 of Australia, ABC of the United States, and KBS of the ROK.

Military

Events Concerning Victory Day Reported

Yazov Article in PRAVDA

PM0805163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 May 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister: "Responsibility for the Fate of Peace"]

[Text] The meetings between Great Patriotic War participants who annually hold their parades during this spring period everywhere—from the capital to the most remote corners of the Soviet Union—are one moving feature of May in our country. It is a chance to meet up for representatives of the generation of Soviet people who have forever gone down in our motherland's history as a generation of victors. A generation which, with no thought as to sacrifices, won the brutal battle against the German fascist invaders and shouldered immense suffering and privations. A generation which did everything to defend the fatherland's freedom and independence and put an end to war and fascism so that the peoples of the whole world could live in lasting and reliable peace.

The feat achieved back in 1941 embodied the greatness of our people's patriotic and international spirit, their indissoluble cohesion around the Leninist Communist Party, and their unshakable devotion to the ideals of October and the cause of socialism. The abiding value of these qualities can also be seen today in the revolutionary restructuring of our entire society. This has shaken up the people's historic memory and opened up and cleared its life-giving springs—the springs of truth—of the silt of many years. Truth alone can provide both a correct and objective assessment of past events and genuine moral guidelines for the future.

One such guideline is the realization that the profoundly understood responsibility for the fate of the motherland and the fate of peace was the motive force that always encouraged servicemen, partisans, members of the underground, and rear services workers every day and every hour of the 4 long, hard years of the war to make the only choice worthy of citizens and patriots, even in the face of death and immense pain and suffering. Recast by hearts and minds into the life stance of millions, it was a powerful factor in the victory.

The enemy felt the impact of this factor in the very first hours and minutes after its invasion of our country. The aggressor met with stubborn resistance at the very first fronts of the Great Patriotic War. The Brest Fortress fought for more than a month, pinning down major enemy forces. The border post commanded by Lieutenant A. Lopatin fought for 11 days and nights despite being completely surrounded. The fascist German troops unsuccessfully attacked the city and naval base of Liyepaya for around a week. The 41st Rifle Division held its line at Rava-Russkaya for 5 days, inflicting major losses on an enemy grouping five times its size....

Many of our formations and units not only displayed unparalleled steadfastness in defense but also successfully attacked the enemy, inflicting tangible counterstrikes. In the fighting around Shyaulyay the 28th Tank Division under Colonel I. Chernyakhovskiy, who was to become one of the famed military leaders and heroes of the Great Patriotic War, inflicted tremendous losses on superior enemy forces through its daring attacks. In another sector the 99th Rifle Division under Colonel N. Dementyev drove the enemy out of Peremyshl and, together with border guards, held the town for several days until ordered to retreat.

In July 1941 the Southwestern Front newspaper wrote the following about this division, which was the first in the standing army to be awarded the Order of the Red Banner: "The fascists are scared to death of this division. They have repeatedly reported that the 99th Division has been destroyed.... The fascist barbarians, on whose ranks the division daily inflicts enormous losses, call it the communist division—and this time not without reason. Only Bolsheviks firmly convinced of the justness of their cause, infinitely attached to their motherland, and devoted to their people to the last breath can fight the way the men of the glorious 99th fight."

These words have a profound and abiding message. Written during the extremely difficult days of the initial period of the war, they seem to be addressed to the present, confirming the abiding nature of the moral values which have always given Soviet people strength. It is appropriate to recall this in connection with the fact that in today's undoubtedly favorable process of removing the "blank spots" in our history—not least military history—certain writers have been focusing exclusively on the negative, forgetting to remind the younger generation about glorious and heroic deeds that deserve to be the object of pride forever. The difficult period—full of contradictions and complexities—of the eve and beginning of the war calls for particular responsibility, honesty, and competence. When addressing this period it is important to look at the facts not in isolation but as a whole, and to bring to light the genuine cause-and-effect linkage of past events. This work will be carried out in the 10-volume work "The Soviet People's Great Patriotic War" which is being prepared at the decision of the CPSU Central Committee. But it is important to discuss some of the most acute and topical points today, albeit briefly.

The start of the war was critically serious for us for a number of reasons—both objective and subjective. The prime one was fascist Germany's economic advantage over the USSR. At the moment it attacked the Soviet Union it was producing twice as much electricity, coal, cast iron, and steel and four times as many motor vehicles as our country. Fascist Germany's economy had long since switched to a military footing and its allies were just completing the switch. Moreover, all the resources of conquered Europe had been placed at the service of aggression.

As for the Soviet Union, it had only just embarked on the implementation of the 3d 5-Year Plan, drawn up with consideration for the constantly mounting threat of aggression and the need to reequip the Army and Navy. Machine building, metallurgy, the fuel and power complex, and the defense sectors were developing rapidly and an industrial potential was being created in the Volga area, the Urals, and Siberia. All this required not only money (in 1940 nearly one-third of our state budget was being used to strengthen defense) and not only resource, but time as well. And this was in very short supply.

Second, the aggressor's substantial military superiority. The fully mobilized and deployed 5.5-million-strong regular German fascist army of invasion was equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and combat equipment and it had 2 years' experience of waging military actions. Our Army, however, had essentially only just begun to be reequipped. Units and subunits of the Red Army stationed in border military districts were equipped mainly with obsolete weapons and equipment which were inferior to those of the enemy. Suffice it to say that it was not until 1941 that our rifle units started receiving submachineguns, semiautomatic rifles and carbines, whereas the enemy forces were fully equipped with automatic weapons. Our main tank was the BT-7, which in terms of armor and weaponry was inferior to the German T-III and T-IV. Two-thirds of the tank pool either needed repairs or was due to be written off. By June 1941 industry had produced only 1,225 "34's" and 639 Klim Voroshilov tanks. Production of new aircraft was only just getting under way—in the first half of 1941 a little over 2,600 YAK-1, MIG-3, LAGG-3, PE-2, and IL-2 had been produced to replace combat aircraft of obsolete design. Nearly all the artillery in the Wehrmacht was towed by vehicles; in our case the figure was only one-fifth. Our formations and units clearly did not have enough air-defense and antitank facilities. We were well behind the enemy in terms of the level of troop motorization and, consequently, in terms of maneuverability and the ability to support combat actions.

Third, operational-strategic errors. All calculations were made on the basis of the idea that the war would start with border clashes and only then would the main enemy force be brought in. It was thought that this force still had to be fully deployed, but, in reality, it was already deployed and effectively ready to invade. It was with its offensive actions that the aggression began. A serious error was also committed in determining the length of time it would take to make our own forces combat-ready in the border zone and to mobilize Armed Forces units in inland military districts. The transfer of five armies from the heart of the country to the western borders was late starting and the construction of fortified areas was not completed. The transfer in 1940 from a mixed territorial-militia system to a regular system of manpower acquisition was also late, and it had an adverse effect on the quality of the mobilization resources which made up the Army at the start of the war.

Fourth, Stalin's repressions against military cadres had grim consequences for the Armed Forces' training to repulse aggression and for their waging of combat actions in the initial period of the war. In the prewar years the Army and the Navy lost more than 40,000 commanders and political workers. In 1938-1940 alone all commanders of military district forces were replaced, along with 9 out of 10 deputies, chiefs of troop categories and services, and leaders of corps, divisional, and regimental components. The repressions hit the military cadres who were the most highly trained from the theoretical and practical viewpoints. The consequences of this irreplaceable loss were aggravated by the fact that it coincided with the prewar deployment of the Armed Forces. The development of many commanders and political workers and their acquisition of experience of troop leadership coincided with the first combat actions and not infrequently cost us very dearly.

All this made the beginning of the war difficult for us. The feat of our Army is all the more significant and glorious since it managed—despite a correlation of forces which was in its disfavor, and despite the mistakes, miscalculations, and heavy prewar losses that had occurred—to crush and bleed white in grim defensive battles the enemy's powerful, comprehensively equipped and trained professional army and to drastically change the course of events. As early as 1941 the German fascists' plans for a Blitzkrieg had been thwarted. Along world-famous and totally obscure lines which extended from the Polar region to the Caucasus and the Black Sea; in battles at the walls of Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Kiev, Minsk, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk; on the Kursk Bulge; in right-bank Ukraine and Belorussia; and during the liberation of Europe; the enemy suffered a crushing defeat and was totally routed.

The defensive and offensive operations carried out by the Red Army during the Great Patriotic War have no parallel in history not just regarding their scope, the force levels of the sides, and the results, but also regarding the standard of the art of military leadership and the troops' combat skill. A purely objective rather than professional glance at the parameters and criteria of the operations that took place on the other fronts of World War II is enough to convince oneself of the bankruptcy of certain ideas current in the West along the lines of the "turning points" theory. Their main aim is, with the help of falsification, to belittle the importance of the Soviet-German front and the USSR's contribution to the rout of fascism. However, facts, as is known, are hard to disprove. They attest that it was the Soviet-German front where the aggressor sustained around 75 percent of all his losses during World War II, that it was precisely here that the outcome of the war was decided and the decisive contribution made to the joint rout of the common enemy, the liberation of the people of Europe, and the solution of the task common to all mankind—delivering world civilization from fascism.

There is profound historical logic in the fact that on 9 May all honest people of the planet turn their grateful glances to our country and that throughout the postwar decades they have been marking Victory Day together with the Soviet people. The victory over the forces of aggression and reaction, which was won at the cost of great sacrifices and privations on the part of many countries and peoples, inspired mankind with the hope that World War II would be the last war. The responsibility for translating this hope into reality rests with the present generation and is by no means a speculative one. The arms race unleashed by the imperialist militarist circles and the atmosphere of hostility and distrust which reigns in conditions of nuclear confrontation have resulted in mankind teetering precariously on the brink of catastrophe. In order to avoid this catastrophe, new approaches are needed to the solution of the problems of war and peace and ensuring security.

The firm establishment of these approaches in political practice presupposes the unconditional renunciation of the stereotypes and dogmas of military-force thinking and of the age-old notions of war as a means of achieving political aims. Today it is generally recognized that there can be no winners in a nuclear war, that it would be tantamount to a worldwide catastrophe. In view of the potential of modern weapons, the same applies also to nonnuclear war between major states or their coalitions. Regional wars and armed conflicts in present-day conditions are also fraught with a real danger of spreading and assuming a global scale with disastrous consequences for all mankind. Consequently, the only way to ensure survival, universal security, and peace is to find political solutions and to implement disarmament.

The objective necessity of the new political thinking arose from a realistic, illusion-free assessment of the fact that there is no sensible alternative to this. The ideas and principles of the new political thinking which were formulated by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session reaffirm the priority of universal human interests and values, and a whole series of practical conclusions is based on historical experience, including the experience of World War II which united states with different social systems into a single coalition in the struggle against the common enemy—fascism. Today peoples again have a common enemy—the threat of the annihilation of civilization, of life on earth itself.

By its example of good will and its constructive approach to the solution of the topical problems of the present time, an approach embued with responsibility for the fate of peace, the Soviet Union is contributing to the development of the political dialogue and the deepening of the negotiating process on problems of nuclear and chemical weapons, conventional arms, and the quest for political solutions to end regional conflicts. The USSR's large-scale initiatives toward the unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces by 500,000 men, cuts in the defense budget, the conversion of part of its defense production, and the building and training of the Army and Navy strictly in accordance with the defensive military doctrine are geared to the practical implementation of the switch from the principle of overarmament to the principle of defense sufficiency.

The process of improving the international political climate is making headway, albeit with difficulty. It is meeting stubborn resistance from influential circles in a number of Western countries which still view the world from the angle of confrontation and which openly declare their adherence to the policy of strength. In line with their social imperative selective statistics are being used to fuel propaganda campaigns about an imaginary "Soviet military superiority" designed on the one hand to justify in the Western public's eyes the far-reaching militarist programs of the United States and NATO while, on the other, validating the "need" for the unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Now, when the process of talks has only just begun to acquire constructive shape, the advocates of the strong-arm policy of "nuclear deterrence" are trying to foist on West Europe a "modernization" of tactical nuclear weapons which, if implemented, could devalue the first-ever agreement on real nuclear disarmament—the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

All this, of course, is duly assessed and taken into account when elaborating and implementing our policy in the sphere of the country's defense and security and when resolving the practical tasks of restructuring the Armed Forces and reducing them to the limits of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

During the Great Patriotic War our Armed Forces revealed their socialist nature in full and showed their inseparability from the people. The organic and indissoluble social, ideological-political, and internationalist unity of the commanders, political workers, and fighters multiplied many times over the strength of the combat system. On 31 October 1942 PRAVDA wrote: "The peoples of the world are talking about the 'miracle of Stalingrad'.... Who formed an iron wall in that? Russian people standing alongside Ukrainians, Belorussians, Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, and the sons of the entire multinational Soviet state.... The whole Soviet land came together as brothers in the sacred cause of the defense of the fatherland."

The whole tenor of Army and Navy life, military discipline, and regulation procedure must be built in our Army on the principles of collectivism and the conscious fulfillment by all military personnel of the honored duty of protecting the united multinational motherland—the USSR. Not only a school of internationalism, military service is also a school of civic spirit and responsibility.

Today's servicemen are rightly called heirs to the feats and glory of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War. This is not only an honor but also in many ways an obligation. Today's officers, soldiers, and sailors bear the responsibility of preserving and increasing the prestige of the Soviet Armed Forces which the victory over fascist Germany and militarist Japan raised to a tremendous height. This responsibility is quite concrete and is manifested not only in heroic deeds and exploits but also in humdrum and everyday affairs. Selfless service constitutes a continuation of the heroic traditions of the grandfathers and fathers who passed on to today's servicemen the baton of loyalty to the fatherland.

In order to bear this baton worthily the serviceman needs not only a profound understanding of the vital necessity to protect the peaceful labor of the people and of his own personal responsibility for ensuring that but also thorough knowledge, firm skills, and a strong physical tempering. All these qualities are developed, improved, and augmented by many new professional, moral, and psychological features during military service. And their basis must be founded in the family and the school. The Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, war and labor veterans' organizations, public organizations, creative unions, and the mass media are called on to make an important contribution to young people's military-patriotic education and their preparation for service. All the elements of our political system and all Soviet society essentially participate in that. It can be no other way—after all, the defense of the motherland is a nationwide concern.

But direct and immediate responsibility for the reliable defense of the socialist fatherland and for ensuring conditions conducive to the implementation of the plans of revolutionary restructuring and preventing war is placed by the party and the people on the Armed Forces. Fully aware of this, command and political cadres and Soviet servicemen work persistently to improve the quality of troops' training, enhance combat skill, and strengthen military discipline. The devotion of Army and Navy servicemen to the October ideals which inspired Soviet people to military exploits and selfless labor during the Great Patriotic War, and loyalty to the cause of socialism and peace, for which victory was won 44 years ago, are manifested in their growing political and service activeness and conscientious fulfillment of their military duty.

Yazov Addresses War Veterans

LD0505230389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1343 GMT 5 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 5 May (TASS)—"The victory holiday is a remarkable holiday of the Soviet people, who bore on their shoulders the main burden of the last war. It is also a holiday for people of good will in many European and Asian countries because their liberation from enslavement by fascism and militarism is linked precisely with it. It is also a holiday for all mankind, because 9 May 1945 was the embodiment of the hope for final deliverance from wars," Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Minister of defense, declared today. He spoke at a meeting here with veterans of the Great Patriotic War.

At the same time, the minister went on, it is primarily the holiday of those who with their own sweat and blood, their heavy martial labor at the front, and their daily exploits, courage, and heroism strove to achieve our common great victory. This is the holiday of those who fought at the front—men of the ranks as well as officers, generals and marshals—all those whom Soviet people with love and pride call veterans of the Great Patriotic War. Unfortunately, many of them did not live to see today.

Those taking part in the meeting honored their memory with a minute of silence.

General Yazov commented that since the end of the Great Patriotic War, new generations have been born and become vitally aware, and new problems have emerged which claim our attention and are capable of pushing the events of more than 40 years ago into the background. "However, the Great Patriotic War," the minister stressed, "was a great war because the entire country—old and young, men and women, workers and peasants, scholars and cultural workers, all the nations and ethnic groups of our motherland—rose up during that war against the hateful occupiers. It was a great war because victory or defeat in it meant for us being free or becoming enslaved."

The USSR minister of defense recounted the main operations of the last war in which the veterans present in the hall took a direct part.

Army General Dmitriy Yazov thanked the veterans for their selfless service to the motherland and for the huge contribution they make to the cause of strengthening the country's defense capability and to educating young people in the spirit of selfless service to the fatherland.

Leaders Honor War Dead

LD0905095589 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT 9 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 9 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR defence minster, deputy ministers of defence, and other military leaders came to the Unknown Soldier's tomb today, on the Victory Day anniversary, to honour the memory of those who had fought for the honour, freedom and independence of the motherland and who had not lived to see the cherished day of victory.

Wreaths were laid at the tomb on behalf of the servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces.

Units of Moscow Garrison troops marched past the Unknown Soldier's tomb, paying military honours to the fallen.

Varennikov Addresses Veterans

PM0505125289 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Apr 89 Second Edition p 1

[Reserve Colonel F Mikhaylov report: "The Veterans' Visit"]

[Text] On the eve of the Victory holiday, the Ground Forces military council and political directorate organized a visit for veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the Soviet Armed Forces to the Sevastopol Red Banner Guards Motorized Infantry Separate Brigade named for the 60th Anniversary of the USSR.

Lieutenant Colonel B. Polyakov, commander of the guards brigade, told the veterans about the military training and the servicemen's way of life. The visitors met with personnel in the unit's club.

Army General V. Varennikov, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, and Colonel General M. Popkov, chief of the Ground Forces Political Directorate, spoke at the meeting.

Afterwards, the veterans looked at the unit museum, where there is an exhibition showing the guard servicemen's combat history and current service. They visited the study block and the park and examined modern combat hardware.

At the end there was a concert.

Solovyev Speaks at Veterans Meeting

LD0705180189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A meeting of the members of the military council of the Order of Lenin of the Leningrad Military Okrug with war veterans has been held in Leningrad. [passage omitted]

[S.Dukhavin, identified by caption] Each one of them had his hour of glory, the moment when his knowledge and skill, courage and will, as if melted into one, became an unconquerable force, and achieved the victory. It was a feat. We greatly need these qualities today, the experience and help of the hero veterans. This was stressed in the greetings from Army General Yazov, minister of defense of the USSR, read out at the meeting. [passage omitted]

The appeal by the veterans for better services was supported by Comrade Solovyev who spoke at the meeting. He warmly congratulated the front line heroes on the coming festival, wished them good health and well being. [video shows audience arriving, seated, Solovyev at rostrum)

General Chekov Discusses Restructuring

LD0605122289 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 6 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—The Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) was a difficult trial for the Soviet country, which tested the viability of the socialist system, the strength of the multi-nation state and patriotic feelings of Soviet people, a Soviet deputy defence minister told TASS.

Colonel General Nikolay Chekov said that the Soviet Armed Forces "defended socialist achievements and helped many European nations get rid of the fascist enslavement."

"We are proud of the fact that the Soviet people and its Army made the decisive contribution to the rout of fascist Germany and militarist Japan," he said.

"Soviet people will never forget the important role of countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition in the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, and the assistance these countries rendered to the Soviet Union."

Perestroyka and new political thinking now determine all foreign policy efforts by the Soviet Communist Party and the state. These efforts are characterised by a balanced approach to issues related to the removal of the nuclear threat, elimination of all kinds of weapons of mass annihilation, and the creation of a comprehensive international security system.

Chekov said that "the signing of the Soviet-U.S. intermediate- range nuclear forces treaty and the Soviet Union's decision to unilaterally cut its Armed Forces by 500,000 troops and conventional armaments have met with understanding and support of millions of people in all countries".

He said this Soviet initiative, which was supported by a number of Warsaw Treaty countries, was the beginning of a turn from the principle of overarmament toward the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

The Soviet State, which is consistently pursuing its peaceful foreign policies, is cutting its defence spendings and working out measures to accelerate the conversion of the military industrial potential.

Resources and facilities released through this conversion are used, above all, to step up the production of consumer goods and develop the material base of the social and cultural spheres.

"Perestroyka in the Soviet Armed Forces is proceeding in line with the Soviet defensive military doctrine," the general said.

Military Expert Views SDI Developments

AU0505183889 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 3 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Major General Filip Gontar, candidate of military sciences, by Vasil Asparukhov, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent: "Will the 'Space Barrier' Be Crossed?"; in Moscow, date not given]

[Text] The so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) is one of the main issues of the legacy which President Reagan bequeathed to his successor in the White House. What about its future? What is the attitude of George Bush and his team toward this initiative?

Our Moscow correspondent interviewed Major General Filip Gontar, Soviet military expert, on these questions.

[Gontar] George Bush definitely declared himself in favor of further developing the SDI program. In addressing a joint session of the two congressional chambers of the United States he stated that the "energetic implementation of SDI" is one of the priority targets of his administration. He also elaborated on this idea in an interview with the XINHUA News Agency, in which he said: "SDI is an important military program aimed at the consolidation of strategic stability and the United States intends to pursue research in this area, in order to understand how to advance in obtaining even more reliable defense means." At the same time increasing opposition against the program is being voiced by Congress, by U.S. scientists, and the general public. Under these circumstances SDI supporters are forced to engage in evasive maneuvers by initially calling for a restricted form of the SDI program.

[Asparukhov] Could you briefly describe the meaning of a restricted SDI system?

[Gontar] This program includes a whole arsenal of ground and space weapons for detecting and tracking missiles along the mid-flight path. The SDI system will represent three echelons of combat anti-missile weapons.

The first stage will be represented by space stations equipped with self-hauling interceptor missiles. They should be capable of striking the enemy missiles immediately after they have been launched and the missiles' warheads in the mid-flight path. A total of approximately 150 combat satellites each with 10 light interceptor missiles are expected to be put into orbit.

The second echelon consists of land-based anti-missile missiles. They are supposed to destroy missiles which have penetrated to the point just before they enter the upper strata of the atmosphere at a height of 100-900 km.

The third echelon is represented by land-based anti-missile missiles which are aimed at destroying missiles which have entered the upper strata of the atmosphere at a height of 15-70 km. The last two echelons are made up of over 1,500 units.

[Asparukhov] We know that the Pentagon has proceeded toward a broad implementation of the SDI program. It is known that this program already includes 3,500 contracts with companies in the United States, Britain, the FRG, Israel, Japan, and other countries that are expected to be implemented. However, the research developments under laboratory conditions for models of anti-missile weapons are evidently expected to be tested on an experimental basis....

[Gontar] The SDI program envisages no less than 10 experiments for 1989 and 1990. In this connection I may point out as follows: Envisaged is the "key hit" experiment, which includes the firing of an interceptor missile from a satellite to destroy a missile launched from land

and the testing of a giant infra-red sensor (of 5.5 tons) consisting of 38,400 detectors which will be installed on a Boeing-767 aircraft. The sensor will track missiles fired from an air base, situated in California, and their warheads, as well as missiles fired from submarines. A military satellite named "Delta Star" will be launched into orbit. It will be equipped with an apparatus operating in the infra-red, ultraviolet, and visible spectra of electromagnetic radiations. This satellite will make it possible, within a year, to obtain information on the characteristic features of missile engines. It will also provide data on warheads during the trajectory of their flight. The launching of a satellite in "an orbital mirror" is also expected for checking the possibilities of the exact direction of the laser ray reflected by it upon a given target.

[Asparukhov] How will these actions of the enemies of detente reflect upon the process of reducing strategic, offensive weapons?

[Gontar] If ground tests of new components for anti-missile defense should take place in the United States, if space stations with interceptor missiles installed should be created, this would be a gross violation of the U.S.-USSR INF Treaty. As is known, this treaty represents the fundamental basis upon which the entire process of increasing and reducing strategic-offensive weapons is based. This is, precisely why the USSR declares itself against the "expanded" interpretation of this treaty.

[Asparukhov] Is the SDI program a topic for discussion at the Geneva negotiations on nuclear-space weapons?

[Gontar] Strictly speaking, it is not. These negotiations rather deal with the relationship between strategic-offensive weapons and the Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty, in the form in which it was ratified in 1972. The SDI program, or rather that part of it which does not contradict the aforementioned treaty, has no relation to the Geneva negotiations on the 50-percent reduction of strategic-offensive weapons. The position of principle adopted by the USSR is based on the recognition of every country's right to engage in such fundamental research activities for which objective conditions and requirements exist. There is no doubt that numerous research developments in the field of anti-missile defense do not necessarily contradict the stipulations of the treaty in this respect.

The fact that SDI was removed from the agenda of Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear-space weapons contains great positive potential for the future solution of the complicated problems related to the reduction of PNO [expansion unknown]. The USSR insists on the full observance of the Anti-Missile Defense Treaty since this promotes the development not only of the American, but also of our own anti-missile programs thus guaranteeing the strategic stability and balance of these two countries' military forces.

Varennikov Addresses Discussion on Komsomol Work

PM0505133189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 89 First Edition p 2

["Our correspondent" report: "Time of Real Action"]

[Text] A conference of assistant chiefs of military schools' political departments responsible for All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (Komsomol) work has been held in the main staff of the Ground Forces. Opinions were exchanged in a creative, exacting atmosphere on matters of restructuring the content, forms, and methods of work by military schools' Komsomol organizations in present-day conditions.

The conference was addressed by Army General V. Varennikov, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister; S. Yepifantsev, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Colonel General M. Popkov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Ground Forces Political Directorate; Lieutenant Colonel I. Yefimov, assistant chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy responsible for Komsomol work; and other comrades.

Su-27 Fighter To Appear at Le Bourget Air Show

LD0805205589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 May 89

[From the "Vremya" Newscast]

[Text] The Su-27 fighter-interceptor, created at the Sukhoy design bureau, will be shown for the first time at the forthcoming air show at Le Bourget.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] These pictures were taken at one of the airfields in the north, where these aircraft are used. The air temperature is minus 40 degrees [celsius] with a biting blizzard. And in these extreme Arctic conditions the Su-27, created under the guidance of the general designer, Lenin prize winner Mikhail Petrovich Simonov, is absolutely reliable. In the opinion of specialists, this aircraft surpasses any fighter in the world in maneuverability and acceleration.

Judge for yourselves: The turning radius of the machine, weighing many tonnes, is equal to the turning radius of a piston engined fighter of the time of the Great Fatherland War. The design has made use of new aluminium and titanium alloys, and composite materials, which gives both lightness and strength at the same time. Its perfect aerodynamics, large fuel capacity, the economic (Chepkin) design engines, in combination with the electronic remote-control system for controlling the machine and its missile armaments, provide the aircraft with exceptional striking power. This is also confirmed by foreign experts. [video shows snow-covered airfield; an aircraft with serial number 02 being serviced on the tarmac; the same aircraft taking off and in flight, firing missile, and landing; video then cuts to interview in an office with M.P. Simonov]

[Reporter] Mikhail Petrovich, this is the first time that we have seen the Su-27 in flight.

[Simonov] Naturally, a designer always wants to compare his machine with some Western model and know the level of our machine relative to world achievements—below their level or at the same level. We only wanted to be at the same level, and so, of course, the flights fulfilled our expectations, and we achieved more, precisely because we managed to surpass the records set by the U.S. F-15 aircraft, which shows the quite high standard of our technology and our industry.

[Reporter] These unique pictures were taken by the cameramen during flights in the record version of the Su-27, called the P-42. The test pilots (Viktor Pugachev), (Nikolay Sadovnikov), (Oleg Tsoy), and (Yevgeniy Frolov) set 27 world records in time-to-climb and level flight altitude for aircraft this class. For example, on its record flight the plane reached an altitude of 15,000 meters in just 70.3 seconds—7 seconds faster than the U.S. equivalent, the F-15 fighter. [video shows the P-42 on the ground and in flight, then cuts back to the interview]

What do you think, at the air show in Paris, how will the specialists see your machine?

[Simonov] The machine is enjoying a good deal of attention; and I think it will be received with great interest. I have to say that the openness, directness, and precision of the reported data, especially on defense equipment—when we talk about the necessary level of our Armed Forces and about a balance in Europe and in the world—it is particularly important to keep to such a policy of glasnost and precision. [end recording]

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